The effect of the Kings Message to both Houses of Parliament on Tuesday last concerning a New Treaty of Peace, and some proceedings of the Parliament upon the same.

The Princes Troops taken by Northampton soldiers near Banbury.

A Num 10

CONTINVATION

Of certain Speciall and Remarkable passages informed to the PARLIAMENT, and otherwise from divers parts of this Kingdome, from Thursday the 29. of *February* till Thursday the 7. of *March*. 1643.

Containing these Particulars, viz.

1. A true relation of a Message from His Majesty on Saterday last, wherein is desired His Majesties Children and Colonell *Goring*, in Exchange for the Lord *Lowden*, with the Parliaments answer thereunto.
2. A true relation of a Generall Exchange of Prisoners in *Cheshire*, *Newarke*, and elsewhere, together with the number of the Lord *Byrons* his forces in *Lancashire*.
3. A true relation of the Cavaliers plundering *Barnstable* in *Devonshire*, and the carrying Mr. *Peard* the Recorder to Prison, and the hanging of Mr *Charles Feard*, the Major of that Towne.
4. A true relation of the putting of the *Posse Comitatus* in Execution for the raising of more force in *Devon*.
5. A true relation of the Kings high Sheriffe in *Northumberland*, which fled and the Country and come in to the Parliament and taken the Covenant.
6. A true relation of the forces raising in *Kent*, *Sussex*, *Surry*, and *Hampshire* for the assistance of Sir *William Waller*.
7. A true relation of Sir *Richard Greenvile* his coming to *Oxford*, with the number of Horse, Men, and Money he hath taken with him.
8. A true relation of Sir *John Boreman* taking of the Covenant, and another Gentleman of the same name refusing it, but [illegible]
9. A true relation of the Matter of the Rolles Commission under the Great Seale.
10. A true relation of the *Scots* proceedings, together with what number of horse and foote have been taken from the Enemy.
11. A true relation of a late notable exploit of Colonell *Massy*, in taking a Troope of the Cavaliers Horse neere *Glocester*.
12. A true relation of the taking of 2 Peece of Ordnance from the Cavaleeres at *Newarke* by the Lord *Willoughby* and Sir *John Meldrum*.
13. A relation of the taking of Sir *Alexander Denton*, Colonell *Smith*, 200 Horse, and 300 foote at *Hilsden House* in *Buckinghamshire*.
14. A true relation of the proceedings of the Committee for the constant payment of Sir *William Waller* some Troopes.
15. A true relation of 14. Peeces of Ordnance and 500. Muskiteers at the Queen of *Darbys* House, besieged by Sir *Thomas Fairefax*.

London Printed for *F. Coles*, and *T. Lucas*, &c are to be sold in the *Old-Baily*.

A CONTINVATION OF Certaine Speciall and Remarkable passages informed to the Parliament, and otherwise from divers parts of this Kingdome.

From Thursday the 29. of *February* till Thursday the 7. of *March*. 1643.

THis weeks intelligence is of divers certaine and remarkable passages both at home and abroad. I will begin with His Maiesties late Message from *Oxford* to his Excellency the Earle of *Essex*, touching an exchange betweene the Lord *Lowthian* and Colonell *Goring*, whereof in the last weekes Diurnall you had the relation at large, *viz.* that both the King & the Parliament agreed to the Exchange, since which concurrence His Majesties Councell having considered of an after witt, have pressed his Majesty to alter his resolution, alleadging that hee is not tyed to His word so his owne disadvantage, & therefore beseought him that Letters might bee sent to the Lord Generall, to have in Exchange with Colonell *Goring*, His Majesties two Children at St. *Iames* for the Lord *Lowthian*, which was accordingly dispatched & Communicated to the Parliament on Saterday last, upon which Letter after serious consideration of the Houses, answer was returned, That for His Majesties Children, they would have as great a care of them as they at *Oxford* could possibly, but would not condiscend to the exchange in that perticuler.

From the City of *Westchester* a late Messenger, certifieth it as

that, that since the defeate given to the Cavalry before *Newbery*, there hath been a generall exchange of Prisoners, and but man for man, though the Cavalry at *Newbery* had in exchange of 200. almost three, the Lord *Byron* is in great want of foote, and was glad to exchange upon equall termes, the reason that although it pleased God to give Sir *William Brereton* the victory in those parts, and which was chiefely done by his horse, yet the horse cannot do the like service as foote, because of the narrow and filthy passages, and the extreame want of provision for his horse in those partes.

To cleare the doubt and different reports of *Barnstable* in the North of *Devon*, I shall breifely relate the whole proceedings there.

This towne of *Barnstable* is both faire, rich, and strong, and in the begining of these unhapy warrs made all manner of fortifications for strengthening thereof, in so much that it ruled the rest of the neighbouring townes, viz. *Torrington*, *Bidiford*, and *Bealton*, and such was their affection to the Protestant cause, that they were much often fell at the Towne of *Torrington* for quartering 200. horse under Colonell *Ashland Gifford*, yet how suddainly did this Towne of *Barnstable* alter its resolution, nay though their Recorder Master *George Peard* could them the danger likely to ensue they were so averse that they surrendred the Towne, and all the Cavaliers which at this very day considering the strength they might have kept in defiance of them.

They had before surrendring many counterfeit Complements with deepe protestations, that at no time they should be rated above the rate the Parliament laid on them, they have had since good experience of their faire Protestations, for from the one end of the Towne to the other, they have not spared a house unplundered, besides their cruelty to Master *Charles Peard*, the Major which they did hastie hang and plunder Master *George Peard*, and carryed him and some other of the cheife to *Exeter* Gaole where they yet remaine in durance, if Master *Charles Peard* be not dead.

In this County of *Devon* the *Posse Comitatus*, is every three weekes put in execution, but the breifes that are read in

Churches

Churches for collecting of monyes towards the maintenance of distressed Widdowes, whose Husbands have beene slaine in the Warrs, have so affrighted the Comonalty that not tenne in a Parish maketh their appearance at the place of Randevouze, therefore whatsoever former reports, have been spread touching the association of these two Counties for the raising of so many thousands (believe it, if they could they won'd not, since the lamentable howling of a thousand poore Widdowes in Cornewall for their husbands, which by computation are inlisted neere 5000. 600. Widdowes which have lost their Husbands in these Warrs, besides the number wounded, and presented also to the Deputie Leivetenants of that County, for redrese of these and other reasons; No forces can be more raised in the West then hath bin already, therefore the Women in generall are resolved to lye on the swords point, ere their Husbands shall againe goe from them.

The differences betweene Sir *William Waller* and Colonell *Stapeley* Governour of *Chichister* is happily ended, and that the said Sir *William* by vertue of his Commission from the Lord Generall, is to have full powre to rule there as hee shall seeme meete.

Sir *Ashley Cooper* Barronet and high Sheriffe of *Dorsetshire*, and Governour of *Weymouth* hath deserted the Cavaliy and come in to the Parliament the hall of *Estwaye*, by whose comming others are suspected, for prevention of which, the Scouts are daily sent forth to lye Centinell perdue.

Hampshire and *Sussex* are recruting a pace, the *Kentish* forces are neere 5000. Volunteers, which will be upon all Comands, and at their owne costs and charges to ayde Sir *William Waller* against the *Hopianians*.

There was a report that Sir *Richard Greenvill* was to be Sir *William Wallers* Leivetenant, or Serjeant Major Generall, and to that end horse, men, money and Armes was preparing for the said Sir *Richard*, but like a perjured Cavaleere, hee endeavoured to betray the trust imposed on him for the Parliament, and although he had made deepe protestations in token of his fidelity, and taken the Covenant, is since run away to *Oxford*, with about two or 300. pounds

pounds of the Parliaments monies, and some 12 or 14 horse, but left his Troops behind him, who would not be inticed by all Rethorique to desert the Parliament.

Sir *John Evelin* of *Hampshire*, and an other Gentleman of that name, which lately came in to the Parliament have taken the Covenant; and on the second of this instant *March* it was debated whether they should sit againe in the House or no, touching which I referre you for better satisfaction to the relation of the Diurnall for this next Weeke.

Mr. Speaker had his Commission under the Great Seale for holding his place of Master of the Roules on Saterday last.

From the Scotts Army there is no great certain tydings since the last Letters, wherein mention was made of the taking of Colonell *Brayton* and by another Messenger which came from the Town of *Newcastle* the 1. of *February*, relation was made that the Marquis was in the Towne and not fled as reported: That the *Scotts* were not ouer the River *Tyne*, neither had they their full number of Ordinance by reason of contrary windes, they were still at *Blith*. And further that Sir *Thomas Riddy* Governour of *Tinemouth* Castle is thought to be in distresse for want of Ammunition. I cannot heare no other certentie then this, save that two late Letters since came to the Parliament, one whereof declareth that the Popish people is almost rooted out of *Yorkshire*, and all the force that *Bellasis* the Governour of *York* could well spare sent to *Bradford*, whereof about 100. prisoners Sir *John Gurlington* was taken in chiefe, and the rest put to flight; so that by all relations the Lord *Fairfax* hath regained all or the greatest part of that Countie of *York*. The other Letter certifieth thus, that the *Scots* have taken a Regement of *Newcastles* Horse, so by little and little God will bee pleased to accomplish this great worke of Rebellion.

There is no certenty as yet of the Ammunition for the relefe of *Glocester*, but that Towne is in some distresse for want thereof, yet such was the forwardnesse of that valiant Gentleman Colonell *Massy*, that he lately surprized a Cavaleere troope and their riders, within three or foure miles of *Glocester*, as they came upon a designe against a party of his.

From

From *Newarke* the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham* and Sir *John Gell* with their force came before that Towne, and the Enemy sallying forth gave each other some salutations, but in conclusion, the Enemy fled with the losse of some men, besides a great peece of Ordnance, which was also taken, and divers Prisoners.

I have had no great occasion a long time to speake of the Lord Generalls Army, but now having somewhat to say of his forces vallor lately in *Buckinghamshire*, I cannot but parratell this honorable Lord to the ould Prince of *Orange*, Grave *Maurice*, who was never rash in any attempt, but like a grave and discreet Generall, pondered how hee might winn and not loose, I meane loose his Souldiers, for hee never accounted that vallor in a Governour, that had not more care of his Souldiers then the Towne, Forte, or Castle, they kept, but would as neere as might be, make both sure; so this Noble Lord his forces at *Aylesberry*, and *Newport Pannell*, have done lately a most excellent exploit without the losse of any one man slaine that I heare of; at *Hilsey house* in *Buckinghamshire* where they have taken Sir *Alexander Denton*, Colonell *Smith*, and divers other Gentlemen of quality, besides a hundered horse and neere upon three hundered *Walloones*, such a packe of bloody villaines that the world have not the like, and great Robberyes they have done lately in those parts, especially at a place call'd *Dunton* where Master *Hampden* lived, here are two of *Oxford* Parliament men caught in one draught, by the neat we hope to have them multiplyed.

There was an Order of the Commons assembled in Parliament that the Committee appointed for the Westerne Counties doe joyne with the Committee made the 27. of *February*, for the raising of monies for the payment of Sir *William Waller's* Troopes, and that speedie course bee taken for the payment of his owne Troopes ever hereafter.

From *Lancashire* there is certaine Intelligence that Sir *Thomas Fairfax* hath besieged the Countesse of *Derbies* house called *Latham*, this House hath beene a great annoying to the parts adjacent, and Commandeth Contribution of the Commonalty in an excessive way, and by credible report, they have laid

laid in as much provision, and Ammunition as will defend, maintaine 500. for a quarter of a yeares siege. It seemeth there are store of gunners, for there are with the least 14. peeces or Ordnances, and 500. Musqueteers, nevertheless the Noble Gallant Sir *Thomas* maketh no doubt to gaine it, and that within the time expected, for he hath almost 1500. before it, and hindereth all recourse betweene his Campe and the House, which by the next there hence, we hope to heare the fruits of his siege.

Vpon the first of this instant *March* the Kings Generall sent a letter by a Trumpeter to the Earle of *Essex*, in which was sett forth that his Majesty tooke notice of his good inclination to Peace, and for that purpose he hath sent his Lordship a letter from his Majesty to be delivered according to the superscription which was directed thus, *To the Lords and Commons of Parliament at Westminster assembled.* This letter thus directed, giving not the Parliament their due stile, made a demurre of the businesse, because in all former Parliaments, and even this his Majesty did direct his letters. To our Trustie and welbeloved Freind the Lord *Grey* Speaker of our House of Peers in Parliament, Or, to our Trustie freind *William Lenthall* Esquire, Speaker of our House of Commons. But this Parliamentary and freindly direction is laid aside, giving His Parliament at *Westminster*, which is His right and lawfull Parliament, yea by His Majestie confirmed, & under His Great Broad Seale not so much credit and honour as his Messages are entituled to his Counsell at *Oxford* which is thus. To the Members of both Houses of Parliament at *Oxford* Conveened Nevertheless, though for the present the Letters were not opened and read, yet after serious deliberation of the Lords and Commons they agreed, and at a Conference of both Houses, the Lord Generall

rall read His Majesties Letter, the summe whereof was to prosecute their former designe of a Treaty of Peace. That His Majesty had a sensible feeling of the miserable conditions of His Kingdomes, and therefore desired the Lords and Commons at *Westminster* would appoint a place to treate with His Lords and Commons at *Oxford* for a speedy Peace, and throughout the said Letter mixt with many bitter invectives the two Houses are acknowledged Members of Parliament, assembled but not Assembled as a Parliament.

Touching which Letter at the said Conference, the Lords desired the concurrence of the Commons, that in answer to the same Both Houses should once more send to His Majesty their earnest supplication that Hee would be pleased to come in a peaceable way to His Great Councell of Parliament at *Westminster*. as the only happy meanes to procure peace to the Kingdome & that further they would acquaint our Bretheren the Scotts with the said Letter, and that by the advise of the joynt Counsel of both Kingdomes, to determine what is further fitting to bee done on the same, touching which businesse, the Commons had some consultation after the conference, and appointed to debate the same further on Thursday Morning.

There is certaine Inteligence this afternoone, that since the taking of *Hillsey House* in *Buckinghamshire*, the Garison at *Northampton* went out with a party and faced *Banbury*, and have surprized all or the greatest part of the Princes Troops neare *Banbury*, and brought them safe to *Northampton*.

This is Licenced and entered according to Order.

The Kings Letter concerning a Treaty.
The Princes Troops surprized.
The L. Inchequins Forces routed.
Hilsdon-house taken.

Numb. 41

The Lord Inchequin.

Mercurius Civicus:
LONDONS
INTELLIGENCER:
OR,
Truth impartially related from thence to the whole Kingdome, to prevent mis-information.

From *Thursday February* 29. to *Thursday March.* 7. 1643.

IT hath beene the ancient and ordinary practice of the greatest Warriours and Commanders in all ages and Nations in the beginning of this Moneth (according to the condition and state of the weather) to quit their Winter quarters, and to draw forth their Souldiers upon severall designes against their adversaries, and hence especially was this moneth called by *Romulus*

Martius, a Marte, that is, *a bello* in respect of warre, *quod antiqui Reges Romani solebant procedere in expeditionem* because then the Roman Kings used to proceed in expeditions against their enemies. And that it may be evidently apparent, that the valiant spirit of the ancient Romans doth yet reside in all true English breasts, the Parliament souldiers now in Armes in defence of Religion and Liberty, have farre excelled that their practice by performing many desperate services against the enemy in the Winter season upon any occasion and opportunity offered; and it is also the resolution of his Excellency the Noble and Magnanimous spirited Lord Generall of the Parliaments Army speedily to recruite his Forces, and to advance with his maine body towards the enemy: but that you may likewise see that in the interim their spirits of valour and activity permit not our souldiers to neglect any opportunity of surprising the the enemies, I shall therefore in the first place impart unto you the relation of the late service performed by the Garrisons of *Aluburry* and *Newport-pannell* (as it was informed to the Parliament on Tuesday last, *March* 5. to this effect: The said Garrisons having intelligence of a party of Cavaliers, which being drawne forth from *Oxford*, had tooke up their abode at Sir *Alex. Denton's* house, commonly called Hillsden-house, neere *Buckingham*, a party of horse advanced from the said Garrisons under the command of Col. *Cranford*, who having surrounded the house, after some opposition stormed it, and possessed themselves of it. They tooke therein Sir *Alex. Denton* himselfe, the Kings Ingineere a German that was imployed about the *London*-works, and Capt. *Wil. Smith* (the same spruce Gentleman that tooke Capt. *Stotsbury* prisoner) both of which were not long since members of the House of Commons, and had taken the Covenant, and yet notwithstanding contrary to their oath perfidiously deserted the Parliament and went to *Oxford*, where they were made members of the iunior or new Assembly there. Our forces gave quarter to those two (though undeserving) leaving them to a judiciall triall for their perjury and fallaciousnesse; and the like they gave to 300 horse and 150 foot then in the house, but there being about 80 French and Walloones who peremptorily refused quarter, they put them to the Sword. They tooke also much Armes and Ammunition therein, and many Cattell, which the Cavaliers had plundered from the Counties adjacent, upon their refusall to pay the contributions assessed upon them. All done with the losse of 2 men, and 5 hurt.

Sir

Sir *Wil. Wallers* Army will alſo very ſpeedily advance towards the Weſt, for which purpoſe the honourable Houſe of Commons appointed the Committee for the Weſterne Counties, and the Committee made the 27 of *Febr.* laſt, for the raiſing of moneys for ſupply of Sir *Wil. Wallers* Army to joyne themſelves together on Tueſday *March* 5. to conſult of the moſt effectuall meanes whereby they might enable him to advance, and that his Troopes might have their conſtant and due pay without intermiſſion. Col. *Strond*, Col. *Pyne*, and Col. *Popham* are all to joyn with Sir *William Wallers* Forces in their advance to the Weſt; as alſo the forces raiſed out of *Suſſex*, *Kent*, and *Surry*, who are not diſcouraged, nor doe at all retard the publique ſervice by occaſion of the perfidiouſneſſe of that unfaithfull runagado Sir *Rich. Grenvill* deſigned their commander in chiefe; whoſe Apoſtacy is not ſo great an injury to the Parliament as is talked of, in regard he carried away not above 600 pound in money, having paid the reſt unto divers of his ſouldiers before hand, as an inticement to draw them away with him, which he could not accompliſh in regard that fearing a diſcovery of his intended project he was enforced to put his deſigne in execution ſooner then he intended; ſo that he went in haſte to *Staines*, and from thence to *Bagſhot* on Sunday laſt, carrying 3 Troopes of Horſe along with him, moſt of which having not onely private ſuſpition, but in a manner intelligence and intimation of his deſignes deſerted him there, and brought backe his Sumpter-horſes and Trunkes; ſo that he went away onely with a Coach and 6 Horſes, and about 15 Troopers, and his Trumpeters, with whom he came into *Oxford* on Munday laſt. But the forces of thoſe aſſociated Counties will come in with as great reſolution as ever, for that now ſpeciall care will be taken that none ſhall have any power to raiſe or conduct them but thoſe of whoſe fidelity (as neere as is poſſible for man to judge) there ſhall be no queſtion; and for Sir *Richard*, it is a greater advantage to the Parliament rather then otherwiſe that ſuch a ſcab'd ſheepe is gone from their forces before he had infected or betrayed any greater or more conſiderable number of them.

On Saterday *March* 2. his Excellency the Parliaments Lo. Generall received a Letter by a Trumpeter from the Earle of *Forth* Governour of *Oxford*, in anſwer to his Excellencies Letter of the 24 *Febr.* laſt, concerning the exchange of Col. *Ewing* priſoner in the Tower

for the Lord *Lowthian* prisoner at *Bristol*, wherein the said Earle of *Forth* first excuses himselfe, in regard that by reason of many urgent affaires he was withheld from returning an answer so speedily as he desired; and declares, that if his Excellency would please to apply himselfe to take some speedy course for the disposall of the Kings children at St. *Iames* according to his Majesties direction he doubted not but to procure the release of the Lord *Lowthian* from his imprisonment according to his desire, or otherwise not. Unto which his Excellency hath not yet returned any answer, in regard it is conceived a considerable exchange was before propounded unto him.

On Tuesday *March* 5. it was advertised out of *Lincolnshire*, that the forces of the Lord *Willoughby* and Sir *John Meldrum* have laid a strong siege before *Newarke* with about 6000 horse and foot, that the Cavaliers lately sallied out thence, and fell upon divers of the L. *Willoughbys* forces, who at the first were forced to retreat, but afterwards fell upon the party that sallied out, beate them backe into the Towne, and tooke from them a Demi-culverin, with many of their Armes which they left behind for haste; so that now having gotten advantage of ground they may be the better enabled to strengthen their siege.

We had also intelligence the same day that the Scots had taken a Regiment of the Marquesse of *Newcastles* horse, but in regard the particulars thereof are not yet informed we cannot be too confident thereof.

From Marleborough we have intelligence that there are 400. native Irish lately come in thither, whereby the miseries of the inhabitants of that (for a long time) poore and oppressed Towne are much increased, for that many of them are constrained to leave their houses and families and come to *London*, from the cruell usage of the enemy. They have also intelligence, that there are about 2000. of the same bloudy crue to come from *Bristol* to joyne with the *Oxford* Cavaliers, the fittest company and place for that Romish and Popish faction to meet together; but we hope that the Almighty hath also brought over these wretches that they may be caught and overtaken in their owne snares, and come to a more speedy destruction then (in all probability) they should have done had they continued in their owne Kingdome; for questionlesse *England*

Land hath not yet loſt ſo much of its wonted ſtrength, but that it is able to oppoſe and countermine the greateſt Armies that can be raiſed in *Ireland*. In the meane time I muſt againe premiſe this caution in behalfe of the City of *London*, that a ſtrict and ſevere courſe be taken to finde out and expell at leaſt ſome of the moſt ſuſpicious Iriſh perſons which lurks in it, whereof there are now many both men and women, which doubtleſſe will be ready upon all occaſions to put any of the Oxonian deſignes in execution for the deſtruction (if not prevented) both of the City and Parliament. Should there be any declared friends to the Parliament appeare at Oxford, there would be care taken to impriſon and confine them at leaſt, if not deale more rigidly and ſeverely with them, as we are informed they daily doe. Their cautiouſneſſe in that particular ſhould be a meanes to rouſe us out of too much ſecurity; it being apparent that their party is never reſtleſſe from ploting one deſigne or other into what place ſoever they come or are entertained.

In the next place I ſhall informe you of a ſhort intercourſe betweene Colonell *Maſſie* and Colonell *Vavaſor*, the two Governours of Glouceſter and Tewkſbury, which was managed in this manner, On Wedneſday was ſeven-night laſt, the ever renowned Colonell *Maſſie* (by way of complement) ſent a Lamperne Pie unto Colonell *Vavaſor* at Tewsbury, and withall ſent him about ſix or ſeven of the moſt learned and ſolid Treatiſes lately written and ſet forth in defence of the Parliament, and with them a Letter written with his owne hand, in which he expreſſed himſelfe to this effect, That he much admired that the ſaid Colonell ſhould with his Forces deſert the Proteſtant Cauſe in Ireland, and leave the Proteſtants there to the mercy of the inhumane Rebels, and come over hither to joyne with Papiſts and Atheiſts to fight againſt the Parliament and Proteſtants here, in defence of Popery, which (as was apparantly proved in thoſe Bookes and otherwiſe evidently manifeſt) was the deſigne of the Cavaliers party; and therefore deſiring him to accept that preſent in good part, wiſh'd him alſo to doe him that common courteſie as to peruſe and read over the ſaid books at his leaſure, and to returne them backe to him with his opinion of them, that ſo hee might certainly know whether hee had read them or no. Unto which (within ſome few dayes) Colonell *Vavaſor* in requitall to the former preſent, ſent halfe a Butt of Metheglin

theglin unto Colonell *Massie*, and withall returned this answer, That hee had perused the books, and examined the matter seriously with himselfe, but that he could not yet be convinced that he fought against the Protestant Religion, which assoone as ever he should be truly perswaded of, hee professed in the word of a Gentleman hee would never draw sword againe in England in that cause hee now defended. So that it is not unlikely but upon second thoughts the Colonell may remember himselfe, and desist from these pernicious courses into which he hath hazarded and adventured his person and fortunes.

Amongst many the fictious reports raised by the Malignants in this City, and published in print by their grand Patron of Forgeries *Mercurius Aulicus* at Oxford, one was, That the worthy Divine Master *Hugh Peters* died in Holland since his last going over thither, the falsity of which report is now evidently apparent, in regard of his present residence in London, whither he came on Saturday last, March 2. and (I suppose) would be willing to bestow a Sermon upon the Cavaliers, either in Ely, Peters, or London house, if they should be desirous of it, to satisfie them both of his life and constancy to his former principles, and to set forth unto them their envious and undue proceedings in such a powerfull and excellent manner, that if they had but any sparke of goodnesse or ingenuity, they should not onely be convinced, but repent themselves, and bee ashamed of their former actions against the Parliament, and scandals raised against him.

On Wednesday last, March 6. there was a Conference betweene both Houses of Parliament, at which the Letter sent from his Majesty at Oxford, signed *Charles Rex*, directed to the Lords and Commons at Westminster (together with the Letter from the Earle of *Forth* to his Excellency the Earle of *Essex*) was read by his Excellency, shewing many specious and faire pretences and expressions (according to the usuall custome of the Penners of such Declarations, as the Lord *Digby*, *Bristol*, and the rest) purposely set forth to delude the common people; after which he declares, how that by the advice of the Lords and Commons (for so they are there stiled) convened at Oxford, he thought good to send that his Letter, whereby it is propounded, that some fit persons might be by them inabled to treate with the like number to be authorized by him

him, in such place as they should appoint; but withall, that there might be also a meeting of all the Members of both Houses both here and at Oxford to make up a full Convention; which request, what grounds the Parliament have to grant, let all indifferent men judge, when the greatest part of that pretended Assembly have been either accused of high Treason, or expelled the House for Patentees and other misdemeanours, and all of them involved as Delinquents in the Vote against any and all those that should assist or maintaine the King in this unnaturall warre against the Parliament.

After which his Excellency read some observations made by the House of Peers to the said Letter, which were also to this effect:

That his Majesty had at first not onely called them together, and since that oftentimes acknowledged them as his grand and supreme Councell of Parliament, but had also assented unto an Act or Statute both for the confirmation and continuance of this present Parliament; besides which, his Majesty was sworne by Oath made at his Coronation to maintain all Acts of Parliament made for the good and benefit of his people; and that as well both Houses of Parliament, as all other the subjects of this Kingdom, had by their Oath of Allegiance and the late Protestation, sworne to preserve and maintaine his Majesties Honour, Power, and Greatnesse, together with the liberty of the subject, and just privilledge of Parliament; all which they would defend with their lives and estates.

Notwithstanding which, the pretended Assembly at Oxford was by the superscription of this Letter put in competition with this Parliament, although many of them have beene accused of Trason, and all of them voted Delinquents by this present Parliament, in regard they have contributed toward, and maintained his Majesty in this unnaturall warre against the Parliament, and that therefore it concern'd them to bee mindfull of their Oaths and Obligations, both in regard of his Majesties honour, and the safety of their owne Consciences. He declared, that it was the desire of their Lordships, That the House of Commons would acquaint the Scotch Commissioners therewith, and that they would joyne with them for the drawing up of an Answer to his Majesty in a plaine humble way, and that they should therein supplicate and humbly beseech his Majesty to return unto his great and faithfull Councell the Parliament,

the

the onely and moſt effectuall meanes to put a period to theſe ruinating diſtractions. That they would alſo draw up a Declaration to be publiſhed to the Kingdom upon this and the other former Letters to undeceive the people, and to demonſtrate unto them how that the many faire and ſpecious pretences or propoſitions for peace, are onely to ſet forward the diſſignes of his Majeſties evill councell, and to retard and interrupt the proceedings of Parliament.

For forraigne newes, there hath been lately a skirmiſh upon the narrow Seas between ſome ſhips of the Hollanders and 13 ſayle of Dunkirke ſhips, and after a ſhort fight the Hollanders ſunke 3. and tooke 5 of the Dunkirke ſhips, and forced the reſt to flight.

Tueſday March 5. an Order was ſent to his little Grace the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, to appeare in their Houſe on Tueſday following, to anſwer to the Articles of high treaſon againſt him.

On Saturday laſt there met above 6000 Horſe and Foote of his Excellencies at their generall Rendezvouz at *Windſor*, from whence they advanced towards *Warwicke* for a convoy to the Ammunition that is intended for *Glocester*. Alſo divers of the *Northampton* forces are to joyn with them; but before their conjunction we muſt of neceſſity inform you of the fortunate atchievement of the *Northamptonſhire* forces, who, as we are informed this preſent Wedneſday March 6. by ſeveral Letters have taken a compleat Troope of horſe to the number of 6 ſcore neere *Banbury*, all the Princes own Troop, men of quality and eſtates.

We heard then alſo certaine intelligence, that the Garriſon forces belonging to *Lyme* and *Poole* in Dorcetſhire had joyned themſelves together in a body and fallen upon the L. Inchequins Regiment of Iriſh runnagadoes, whom they have totally routed, tooke two peeces of Ordnance, fired their Magazine, ſlaine many of them, and taken ſeverall priſoners; of all which you will ſhortly have a more particular relation.

The States Ambaſſadours are daily expected to come from *Oxford*, but are not as yet come to Towne.

Printed according to Order.

London, Printed for *Thomas Bates*, and *J. & J.* 1643.

3

AN ORDINANCE OF

The Lords and Commons assembled in PARLIAMENT;

To inable the Right Honourable,

EDWARD,

Earle of MANCHESTER, To put in execution all former Ordinances for Sequestring Delinquents Estates: Weekly Assessements: The fift and twentieth parts: Contribution for IRELAND: And other Ordinances for Raising of Monies within the Associated counties of *Lincoln, Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Hertford, Cambridge, Huntingdon*, Ile of *Ely*, and City of *Norwich*.

---

17. NOV. 1643.

ORdered by the Commons in Parliament, That this Ordinance be forthwith printed and published:

H: Elsynge, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

MARCH 7. 1643.

London, Printed for *Edward Husbands*, and are to be sold at his shop in the Middle-Temple. 1643.

17. Nov. 1643.

An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons Assembled in Parliament,

To *enable the Right Honorable*, Edward Earl of Manchester, *to put in execution all former Ordinances for sequestring Delinquents estates: Weekly Assessments: the Fift and Twentieth parts: Contribution for* Ireland: *And other Ordinances for raising of monies within the Associated counties of* Northfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Hertford, Cambridge, Huntington, *Isle of* Ely, *and City of* Norwich.

WHereas the associated counties of Lincoln, Northfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Hertford, Cambridge, Huntington, the Isle of Ely, and citie of Norwich, have been at great and excessive charges, in maintaining severall

forces both of Horſe and Foot, in preſerving the ſaid Counties, and in withſtanding, reſiſting and repelling, the ſeverall attempts, hoſtilities and outrages done and committed by the Popiſh Army, now under the command of the Earle of New-caſtle. And whereas ſeverall Ordinances of both Houſes of Parliament, for the ſeiſing & ſequeſtring of the eſtates of Delinquents, the weekly aſſeſſement, the aſſeſsing raiſing, and levying, the fifth and twentieth parts: contributions for Ireland, and other Ordinances for raiſing of monies within the ſaid aſſociated Counties, have not been put in that due and ſpeedy execution as the neceſsity and urgencie of the preſent affaires do require. It is ordered by the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled, That *Edward* Earle of *Mancheſter*, Major Generall of the ſaid aſſociated Counties, do forthwith take ſome effectuall and ſpeedy courſe for the better & preſent execution of the ſaid Ordinances. And in caſe where the Deputy Lievtenants and Committees, or any of them, in any of the ſaid Counties are, or have been negligent and remiſſe in the due execution of the ſaid Ordinances; that in ſuch Counties, Cities, Townes,

and

and Diviſions, within the ſaid aſſociated counties: the ſaid Earle of Mancheſter ſhall and may nominate and appoint ſuch perſon and perſons within the ſaid counties, reſpectively, as his Lordſhip ſhall hold fitting, who ſhall and may aſſeſſe, collect, and levie, the ſeverall ſummes of money to be raiſed within the ſaid ſeverall counties, by vertue of the ſaid Ordinances, as in the ſaid Ordinances is mentioned and declared: and ſuch perſon and perſons ſo to be nominated, by the ſaid Earle of Mancheſter, to have the ſame power to all intent and purpoſes as the Committees mentioned in the ſaid Ordinances now have.

And it is further ordered, that two parts of the ſumme or ſummes of money to be levied, had and received of any perſon, by vertue of the ſaid Ordinance, for the ſequeſtring of Delinquents eſtates, raiſed, or to be raiſed, by any Warrant or Order, or Direction from the ſaid Earle of Mancheſter, ſhall be forthwith after the levying and payment thereof, ſent up and paid to the Treaſurers at Guildhall London, for ſuch uſe and uſes as by the ſaid Ordinances is appointed. And the third part of every ſuch

ſumme or ſummes, to be paid to ſuch Treaſurer and Treaſurers within the ſaid ſeverall and reſpective Counties, as his Lordſhip ſhall nominate and appoint; and to be imployed for the maintaining of ſuch Forces as are raiſed, or to be raiſed in the ſaid Aſſociated counties, and are in actuall ſervice in ſuch Garriſon and places, as by his Lordſhip the ſaid Earl of Mancheſter, within the ſaid Aſſociated counties, or elſewhere is or ſhall be appointed. And all other ſums of money to bee raiſed by vertue of the ſaid other Ordinances, to be imployed as in the Ordinance is limited and declared.

And it is further ordered, that in caſe where any diſtreſſe of any goods is had, levyed, and made, for the raiſing of any ſumme by vertue of the ſaid Ordinances, that the Collector, Officer, and other Perſons for taking ſuch diſtreſſe, ſhall and may from time to time receive ſuch ſumme and ſummes of money, not exceeding twelve pence in the pound, as the ſaid Earl of Mancheſter ſhall appoint, for and towards charges, in levying the ſum, to be paid and levyed by the ſaid perſon and perſons, by way of diſtreſſe and ſale of goods, upon

on whom ſuch diſtreſſe is had and taken over and above the ſumme aſſeſſed upon them, and to be paid by them. And further, that the ſaid Earl of Mancheſter, or ſuch as his Lordſhip ſhall appoint, ſhall and may take account of all Treaſurers, Collectors, chief Conſtables, and others, in whoſe hands any money now is raiſed by vertue of the ſaid Ordinances, of the Bill of 400000 pounds: And that all ſuch ſumme and ſummes of money be forthwith paid unto ſuch Treaſurers at London or elſewhere, as by the ſaid ſeverall Ordinances and Act of Parliament is limited and declared.

And laſtly, it is ordered that the Treaſurers to be appointed by the ſaid Earl of Mancheſter, do from time to time, upon notice to them given, give account of all monies by them received and diſburſed, to ſuch perſon and perſons as from time to time ſhall be nominated and appointed by the Committee of Lords and Commons for Sequeſtrations.

FINIS.

K. Leslie Bp. of Down &c

4

A SERMON

PREACHED AT THE

PVBLIQVE FAST

the ninth of Feb. in St MARIES

OXFORD,

BEFORE

The Great Assembly of the Members

OF THE

HONOURABLE HOUSE OF

COMMONS

There Assembled:

And published by their speciall Command.

LUK. 19. 41, 42.

And when he was come neere, he beheld the City, and wept over it.

Saying, if thou hadst knowne, even thou, at least in this thy day, the things which belong unto thy peace.

March 8 OXFORD, 1643

Printed by LEONARD LICHFIELD, Printer to the Vniversity. 1643.

Die Sabbati decimo Februarii. 1643.

ORdered that Mr Mostyn, and Mr Tompkins, give the Bishop of Downe thankes for his Sermon, and, desire him it may be printed by a Printer at his own appointment, (unlesse for Expedition he please to imploy the Printer to the Vniversity.)

Noah Bridges.

IEREM. 5.9.

Shall I not viſit for theſe things, ſaith the Lord, and ſhall not my ſoule be avenged on ſuch a Nation as this?

AT the firſt hearing of theſe words read, you wil conceive that I am come with an angry meſſage in my mouth; yet are you bound to heare it, becauſe it is from the Lord, *Dictum Iehovæ:* even a fearfull threatning from God himſelf againſt his people *Iſrael*, which is repeated no leſſe then thrice in this book, here in the ninth verſe of this Chap. againe v. 29. and after Chap. 9.9. Now (ſaith S. *Ierome*) *verba toties inculcata, vera ſunt, viva ſunt, ſana ſunt, plana ſunt: Words ſo often inculcated are true and lively, ſound and plain.* The Truth of this threatning appeareth by the fearfull execution of the judgement threatned upon the Iews, who became a ſpectacle of Gods vengeance unto all Generations. This doth ſomething concerne us; for the Apoſtle ſaith, *Rom.* 15.4. *Whatſoever things were written aforetime, were written for our learning.* And again, he telleth us, 1. *Corin.* 10.6. that the puniſhments of the *Iewes* are *our examples, to the intent that we ſhould not luſt after evill things, as they alſo luſted.* If therefore it appear that

we have ſinned in like manner as they did, that our caſe is like unto theirs, I ſhall have a good warrant to take up this *Dictum Jehovæ*, to come with this threatning in my mouth, *ſhall I not viſit for theſe things, ſaith the Lord, and ſhall not my ſoule be avenged on ſuch a Nation as this?*

In which words two things are expreſſed; Firſt, the Prophets commiſſion, or the authority by which he ſpake, in theſe words, *Dicit Dominus, ſaith the Lord.* Secondly, The meſſage which he brings, which is a fearfull threatning againſt his people *Iſrael*, *ſhall I not viſit for theſe things, and ſhall not my ſoul be avenged on ſuch a Nation as this?*

The Prophets commiſſion is not from man, nor by man, but from the Lord, for *dicit Dominus, the Lord ſaith it.* It is ordinary with all the Prophets, to alledge the authority by which they ſpeak, and to bring forth their commiſſion, thereby to draw the attention of their hearers, and to procure faith and obedience to their words, as being the words of God himſelfe. And this they have done in many and diverſe phraſes, ſuch as are theſe eſpecially, *the word of the Lord came unto me, the Lord ſaid unto me; the Lord ſpake by me; I ſaw the viſions of God; the ſpirit of God came upon me*; and this here in my text, *dicit Dominus*, wherewith every particular Prophecie is ſealed, to ſhew the dignity of the Prophecie, and the truth of the Prophet, that he ſpeakes not *the viſion of his own heart*, (as it is ſaid of the falſe Prophets, *Ier.23.16.*) but that he doth propheſy from the mouth of God himſelfe. Our Prophet in the beginning of this book brought forth his commiſſion, ſhewing that the word of the Lord came unto him in the daies of *Ioſiah*, and yet afterwards as oft as he beginneth a new matter, and particularly here where he

he threatneth Iudgement, to ſhow that there is nothing his own; he doth it in the ſtile of the Court of heaven, with a *Dicit Dominus, ſaith the Lord.*

Now if it be the Lord that ſaith it, if this meſſage be from God, then it is our duty to heare it; for when God ſpeakes, all men are bound to heare: *He that made the eare, ſhall he not be heard?* Ye, it is our duty not only to heare it, but alſo to heare it aright, not as it is the word of man, but as it is indeed the word of God: we muſt receive it as Gods meſſage, that is, with reverence, and attention, with feare and trembling, with wiſedome and diſcretion, and eſpecially with faith and obedience, elſe all our labour is in vaine: for this is the *Propter quod*, the end of hearing: therefore God ſends his word unto us, that we may obey, and obey we cannot, unleſſe we beleeve the word which we heare; for faith is the mother of obedience, as Saint *Paul* hath taught us in that excellent gradation, *How ſhall they call on him in whom they have not beleeved. Rom.* 10 14. Calling on God is the firſt act of obedience, and this cannot be done without faith. And ſo we ſee the true reaſon why men do not profit by the word that commeth unto them from the Lord, even becauſe they doe not beleeve it. The Goſpel was preached to the *Iewes* who periſhed, as well as unto others, but, ſaith the Apoſtle, *It did not profit them, not being mixed with faith in them that heard it, Heb.* 4. 2. Turne over all the volumes of the *Prophets*, and you ſhal find that this was the immediate cauſe of the deſtruction of the *Iewes*, even their not beleeving and obeying the words of the *Prophets*. They made a mock at Gods threatnings; for as it followeth a little after my Text, *verſ.* 12. They ſaid, *It is not he, neither ſhall evil come upon us, neither ſhall we ſee ſword nor famine. And the*

Prophets ſhall become wind, and the word is not in them. And this their incredulity brought forth diſobedience: for how often doth the Lord complaine, *When I called none did anſwer, Eſa.* 65.12. and 66.4. and as it is in *Chap.* 35. *verſ.* 15. of this Prophecie, *I have ſent vnto you all my ſervants the Prophets, riſing up early, and ſaying, returne ye now every man from his evill way, and amend your doings: ------ But ye have not inclined your eare, nor hearkned vnto me.* And therefore if we would profit by the word that commeth from the Lord, we muſt give credit to the meſſage, beleeve all Gods threatnings, that ſo we may apprehend the danger, and labour to prevent it by repentance, as did the repenting *Iſraelites, Hoſ.* 6.1. when they heard Gods judgements threatned, they called one another, ſaying, *Come let us returne vnto the Lord, for he hath wounded, and he will heale us.* As yet the judgement was only threatned, it was not inflicted, and yet they cry out, *He hath wounded, he hath torne us,* as though they had even then felt the ſtrokes which after came upon the wicked: for why, they knew that God is true, and that none of his threatings could fall unto the ground; therefore they were ſenſible of their danger, and did ſue unto God for deliverance. So did *Noah,* for the Apoſtle ſaith, *Heb.* 11.7. *By faith Noah being warned of God of things not ſeen as yet, moved with feare, prepared an arke to the ſaving of his houſe.* Where obſerve three degrees of *Noahs* obedience. 1. His faith, he beleeved Gods threatning, though it was of things as yet not ſeene, for he received Gods warning *by Faith.* 2. His feare, he was *moved with feare.* 3. His wiſedome and care, he *prepared an Arke to the ſaving of his houſe.* In like manner ſhould we receive Gods warning by faith, beleeving his threatnings, that ſo we may feare and tremble at his judgements,

judgements, and being moved with feare, we may provide for our own ſafety as he did. This is the part of every wiſe man; for ſaith *Solomon*, *Prov.*22.3. *A prudent man foreſeeth the evill, and hideth himſelfe.* That is, he knoweth that the judgement threatned will come upon the land, and he provideth by all Lawfull means for his ſafety, eſpecially he maketh his Peace with God, and hideth himſelfe under the wings of his protection, that ſo he may be able to ſtand in the evill day.

And thus having briefly prepar'd you to receive the meſſage, I come to ſhew you what it is. It is a very angry one, like *Samuels* meſſage: for unleſſe we have caroused the cup of ſlumber unto the very dreggs, this will make both our eares to tingle, 1. *Sam.*3.11. and our heart ſtrings to tremble. It is a fearfull threatning againſt his people, expreſſed by way of interrogation, yea of a double interrogation, and this interrogation hath the force of a moſt powerfull affirmation. *Shall I not viſit for theſe things, and ſhall not my ſoule be avenged on ſuch a Nation as this?* That is, I ſhall viſit for theſe things, my ſoule ſhall be avenged on ſuch a Nation as this. Wherein he appeales, as it were, unto themſelves, to declare whether he can doe any leſſe, then puniſh theſe ſins. As the Iudge calls unto the guilty Priſoner at the Barre, to ſpeake, and to ſhew cauſe, if he can, why the ſentence of death ſhould not be pronounced: ſo God is brought in here dealing with his people. He hath in the words going before, by this Prophet, accuſed them of many grievous ſins, of Rebellion, hypocriſy, ſecurity, contempt of his judgements, neglect of his word, abuſe of his ſervants, diſobedience to his call, impudencie in ſin, idolatry, adultery; and having found them guilty of all theſe, he calls them to ſhew cauſe

why

why the law ſhould not be executed upon them. *Shall I not viſit for theſe things, ſaith the Lord, and ſhall not my ſoule be avenged on ſuch a Nation as this?* As if he ſhould ſay, Now ſince there are ſuch abominations in *Ieruſalem*, ſince there is ſuch obſtinacy in this people, let all the world judge, and even your ſelves ſpeak, if it be not meet and juſt, that I who am the moſt juſt judge of the world, ſhould call you to an accompt, and Iudge you for theſe things. I puniſh the ſinnes of the Nations who know not my name, how much more ſhall I puniſh the ſins of this unthankfull Nation, to whom I gave the knowledge of my will, whom I choſe to be mine owne people, and whom I have bleſſed without meaſure with innumerable benefits; yet have they followed the ſins, for which other Nations were deſtroyed, and eſtranged themſelves from me: they have provoked my Majeſty by their Idolatry, wronged their Neighbour by fraud, oppreſſion, and all manner of unrighteouſneſſe; and by a perpetuall Rebellion they have reſiſted my will: therefore is my will wholy bent to revenge, *I will viſit for theſe things, my ſoule ſhall be avenged.*

From the words thus explained, I will draw ſeven concluſions. 1. That puniſhments are a viſitation, ſo called in my Text. 2. That all puniſhments are from God, Shall not *I viſit*. 3. Sinne is the cauſe of all puniſhment, Shall not I viſit *for theſe things*. 4. That great ſinnes procure not only a viſitation, but a vengeance, he wil be *Avenged*. 5. Such ſinnes procure a ſpeedy vengeance, ſuch as God in his will doth earneſtly affect, and in his work doth ſeriouſly effect; for his *Soule* is ſet upon revenge, that is, he hath a bent mind, a ready will, and an earneſt deſire to be avenged: *Shall not my ſoule be avenged?* 6. That theſe

grievous

grievous ſins bring Gods vengeance, not only upon particular perſons, but alſo upon the whole Nation: *Shall not my ſoule be avenged on ſuch a Nation?* 7. That no Priviledges nor Prerogatives can ſecure a Nation from puniſhment; but if ſinne doe abound, God will be avenged on any Nation, even on this Nation of the *Iews*, who were his owne peculiar people, *Shall not my ſoule be avenged on ſuch a Nation as this?* By theſe ſeven ſteps ſhall we climbe up unto the underſtanding of this Text.

1. Puniſhments are a *viſitation*, ſo called in my Text, *Shall I not viſit?* that is, ſhall I not puniſh? Indeed in many other places we find the word uſed in a better ſenſe, to expreſſe Gods kindneſſe and favours to his people. And if you would know how this word commeth to have two ſuch contrary ſignifications, as to expreſſe ſometimes his benefits, and ſometimes his judgements: we muſt look into the proper ſignification of the word. To viſit properly is to enquire, or make a ſearch, to take a view of a thing, and exact an account, which may be both of good and bad. Therefore ſometimes the Hebrew word *Pakad* that ſignifieth to viſit, is by the latine interpreter rendred *quærere*, to *enquire*, as *Iob.* 31. 14. *Cùm quæſierit, quid reſpondebo? When he ſhall viſit, what ſhall I anſwer?* To this end doe Kings inſtitute viſitations by themſelves or by their Miniſters, even to enquire into the State of their Kingdome, *for the puniſhment of evill doers, and for the praiſe of them that doe well.* So the Apoſtles viſited Churches, that is, they did view throughly the State of the flock. Now becauſe when God commeth to viſit the Sonnes of men, he taketh notice both of the good and the bad, rewardeth the good, and puniſheth the bad: hence it is, that his viſitation expreſſeth ſometimes his mercies, and

פָּקַד *Piphkod.*

1. Pet. 2. 14.

ſometimes his judgements. So that there is a twofold viſitation from God, a viſitation in mercy, and a viſitation in juſtice. This threatned in my Text is a viſitation in juſtice, like that mentioned in the ſecond precept of the Law, *He viſiteth the iniquities of the Fathers upon the Children.* And Iſa. 26.14. *Thou haſt viſited and deſtroyed them, and made all their memory to periſh.* And in many other places Gods viſitation doth expreſſe his judgements. I conceive that the phraſe is borrowed from the proceedings of a Iudge againſt guilty perſons; in which proceedings there are two maine acts. 1. An inquiry and diligent examination, whether the party be guilty or not: this is properly to viſit. 2. after he is found guilty, puniſhment is inflicted upon him. Such is the proceeding of every juſt Iudge, and after this manner doth God himſelfe proceed, and the ſecond act which is puniſhment, is called by the name of the firſt act, a viſitation or an enquiry, and that for two reaſons. 1. To ſhew that God doth never puniſh but after an enquiry made, and examination of the fact: he is that Lord who in the Parable, *Luk.* 16.12. calls his Steward to an accompt: *He called him and ſaid unto him, how is it that I heare this of thee; give an accompt of thy Stewardſhip.* There is the viſitation or inquiry: and then followeth the puniſhment, *for thou mayeſt be no longer Steward.* That this is the order of Gods proceedings he ſheweth clearly, *Gen.* 18.2. *Becauſe the cry of Sodome and Gomorrah is great, and becauſe their ſinne is very grievous: I will go downe now, and ſee whether they have done altogether according to the cry of it, which is come vnto me: and if not, I will know.* 2. To ſhew that if God come to viſit, that is to make a ſearch for ſinne, we cannot poſſibly eſcape puniſhment; for we are all guilty in his ſight, not able (as *Iob* ſaith) *To anſwer him*

one

one of a thousand: so that the best of us had need to pray with the holy Prophet, *enter not into judgement with thy servant; for in thy sight shall no man living be justified.* Psal. 143.2.

Now to make some use of this in a word, if punishments be a visitation, then whensoever we are under the crosse, let us remember, it is God that visiteth us, and then in like manner let us visit God, visit him by prayer; for to pray unto God is to visit him, according unto that, Isa. 26.16. *Lord in trouble have they visited thee, they poured out a prayer when thy chastning was upon them.* Visit him by repentance; for as by sinne we turne our backs upon God and depart from our heavenly Father; so by repentance we come home againe, and set our faces towards God, walking in the wayes of his Commandements. Finally, visit him by faith, faith is the eye of the soule, by faith we look upon him whom we by our sinnes have pierced, by faith wee who were far off are made neare, by faith we have boldnesse and accesse unto him.

The second conclusion is, that all punishments are from God, *Shall not I visit?* he saith not shall not the *Assyrians* visit? but *shall not I?* for punishment is an act of Iustice, & so most proper to God, who is the Iudge of the world, as is expressed, *Amos* 3.6. *Shall there be evill in a City, and the Lord hath not done it?* Certainly whatsoever calamities doe befall us, they come not by chance or any blind fortune, or the malice of men or Divells, but by the determined Councell and foreknowledge of God. If the pestilence come amongst us & consume us, it is the Lord that sends it; or if famine come and pine us away, it is from the Lord; or if the sword be unsheathed to kill and destroy, it is the sword of the Lord. *I will send* (saith the Lord, *Chap.*

25. 9.) *and take all the families of the North, and Nebuchadnezzar the King of Babylon my ſervant, and will bring them againſt this land —— and make them an aſtoniſhment, and an hiſſing, and perpetuall deſolttion.* It was God that delivered *Iehojakim* King of *Iudah*, into the hands of the King of *Babel*, *Dan.* 1.2. It was not *Nebuchadnezzars* doing, but the Lords. It is plain in the Hiſtory of *Job*, that the Divell for all his malice could not touch *Iob*, nor any thing that was his, untill firſt the Lord had ſaid unto Satan, *Behold all that he hath is in thy power*, *Job* 1.12. Inſomuch that *Job* being ſpoiled of all his goods, cryed out, *The Lord hath given, the Lord hath taken.* He ſaith not, the *Sabeans* have taken away, but the Lord hath. So the repenting *Iſraelites* in all their extremities, cryed out, *He hath wounded us, he hath torne us*, *Hoſ.* 6.1. all the wounds which they felt, they acknowledge to come from God, and therefore they have recourſe unto him for remedy, knowing that Gods hand is like unto *Achilles* his ſpeare, which onely can heale the wound that it hath made.

The conſideration hereof, ſhould teach us patience under the croſſe, even with all meekneſſe and humility to ſubmit our ſelves unto the hand of God. So did *David*, *I was dumbe* (ſaith he) *and opened not my mouth, becauſe thou didſt it.* When *Shimei* did curſe and revile him, he did not ſo much as look upon the inſtrument, but upon God whom he had offended, ſaying, *Let him curſe, becauſe the Lord hath ſaid unto him, Curſe David.* 2. Sam. 16. 10. So ſhould we in all our ſufferings, not ſo much look unto the inſtruments, as unto God, from whom our afflictions doe come. Verily, there is not a greater let that hindereth men from profiting by their afflictions, then

their

their blindneſſe, whereby they aſcribe all their calamities, to ſecondary cauſes and inferiour means, to fortune or chance, and never look up unto the hand of God that ſtriketh them; like a Dog that ſnatcheth the ſtone, and obſerveth not the hand that flung it. Such was the blindneſſe of the *Iſraelites*, *Hoſ.* 5. 13. *when Ephraim ſaw his ſickneſſe, and Judah ſaw his wound: then went Ephraim to the Aſſyrian, and ſent to King Jareb; yet could he not heale you, nor cure you of your wound.* And there be many ſuch, and ſome worſe, who in their troubles will not only goe unto *Aſhur*, but even to a Witch at *Endor*, as though there was not a God in *Iſrael*. Oh wretched people! doe they think it is the Divell that hurteth them, or that he can heale them? No, it is only God that woundeth us, and he only can heale us: *He killeth and maketh alive, bringeth down to the grave and raiſeth up.* Therefore let us in all our extremities have recourſe unto him, ſaying with *Iehoſaphat*, *O Lord, we know not what to doe, but our eyes are unto thee.* 2 *Chron.* 20. 12. 1 Sam. 2. 6.

As all puniſhments are from God, ſo the cauſe that procureth them is alwayes in our ſelves: for ſinne is the cauſe of all puniſhment, as it followeth in the third place, ſhall I not viſit *for theſe things?* that is, for theſe ſinnes. Almighty God who is goodneſſe it ſelfe, and hateth nothing of that which he hath made, doth never ſtrike without a cauſe, nor for every light cauſe either, as he hath expreſſed, *Lam.* 3. 39. *wherefore is the living man ſorrowfull, man ſuffereth for his ſinne:* And a little before, *verſ.* 33. *He doth not afflict willingly, nor grieve the children of men.* It is not willingly, but with much reluctation, as he expreſſeth, *Hoſ.* 11. 8. *How ſhall I give thee up, Ephraim? how ſhall I deliver thee, Iſrael? how ſhall I make thee as Admah? how*

ſhall I ſet thee as Zeboim? mine heart is turned within mee, my repentings are kindled together. Therefore is the execution of juſtice called *Opus alienum*, *Iſa.* 28.21. *For the Lord ſhall riſe up as in mount Perazim, he ſhall be wroth as in the valley of Gibeon, that he might doe his worke, his ſtrange worke, and bring to paſſe his act, his ſtrange act.* It is called a ſtrange work, becauſe he hath no delight in it, as he profeſſeth, *Ezech.* 18.32. *I have no pleaſure in the death of him that dieth.* God hath no pleaſure in death and in deſtruction, but is in a manner conſtrained by our ſinnes to inflict them: for ſin crieth unto the heaven for vengeance, and ſuffereth not God to reſt till he have poured it out: ſin is ſo contrary to Gods nature, that he cannot but puniſh it, according to that, *Pſal.* 5.5. *The fooliſh ſhall not ſtand in thy ſight: for thou hateſt all workers of iniquity.* He reaſons from the nature of God, after this manner; God hateth ſin, and therefore he will puniſh it. It is not without cauſe that the ſame word in the Hebrew doth ſignify both ſin and puniſhment; for theſe two are inſeparable, if impiety, there can be no impunity. It was Gods threatning unto *Adam, in the day that thou eateſt of the forbidden fruit thou ſhalt dye the death*, *Gen.* 2.17. This is the ſentence of the Law, *Curſed is every one that abideth not in all things that are written in this book*, *Deut.* 27.26. This is repeated by the Prophet, *Ezech.* 18.4. *The ſoule that ſinneth, it ſhall dye:* the ſame is confirmed by the Apoſtle in many places, *Rom.* 1.18. *The wrath of God is revealed from heaven againſt all ungodlineſſe, and unrighteouſneſſe of men*, *Rom.* 5.12. *By ſinne death entred into the world:* So that if it had not been for ſin, death could not have found a door to enter in at. *But when by one man ſin entred into the world, death entred by ſinne, and paſſed upon all men*, Rom. 6.23.

The

The wages of ſin is death, Rom. 8. 13. *If ye live after the fleſh, ye ſhall dye.* And S. *Iames ſaith*, chap. 1. 15. *Sin when it is finiſhed, bringeth forth death.* He ſaith not of every ſin, that it bringeth forth death; but only of ſin when it is finiſhed, or come to a full height: for God in his mercy forgiveth ſins not finiſhed, or at leaſt he tolerateth them till they come to perfection, that the ſinner may be without all excuſe; but in his juſtice he judgeth and condemneth ſinnes conſummate by frequent iteration, hardneſſe of heart, and impenitencie: as he ſheweth, *Amos* 1. 3. *For three tranſgreſſions of Damaſcus, and for foure, I will not turne away the puniſhment thereof &c.* as if he had ſaid, if *Damaſcus* had ſinned onely once, in perſecuting of my Church, I might have turned away my judgements: but they have ſinned often, to three tranſgreſſions, they have added foure, *they have threſhed Gilead with threſhing inſtruments of iron.* And for ſo many tranſgreſſions I will not turn away their puniſhment. Such a continued courſe in ſinne, doth not only deſerve death, which is common to all ſinnes, but it aſſuredly bringeth it forth, and moveth God to inflict it upon the ſinner. The word ἀποκύει there uſed by the Apoſtle ſignifieth to be delivered of that which hath been conceived: ſo that the Apoſtle will give us to underſtand ſo much, that ſin, when once it commeth to perfection, is with child of death, and muſt needs be delivered.

If it be ſo that ſin bringeth puniſhment, and that there is no ſuffering but only for ſin: then whenſoever any evill is upon us, let us look back into our former courſes, examine our by paſt lives, and ſee what we have done, to provoke Gods wrath and indignation againſt us: for certain it is, that all afflictions are from God, and as certain it is that

all

all afflictions are from God, and as certain it is, that God never ſtrikes, but where he findes a cauſe in the party. Oh happy were we, if the ſenſe of our ſufferings might thus lead us into the ſight and ſenſe of our ſins, that ſo we might have recourſe unto the Phyſition of our ſoules. But alas! we all periſh for want of conſideration: for we goe on, walking raſhly, and mind not what we do, or in what caſe we ſtand to God-ward. *No man repented* (ſaith our Prophet, cap. 8. 6.) but why? *No man ſaid, what have I done? Every one turned to his courſe, as a horſe ruſheth into the battle.* There can be no repentance, till firſt there be a looking back, to ſee what we have done amiſſe; therefore *let us ſearch and try our wayes, and turn again to the Lord.* Firſt we muſt ſearch and try our wayes, to find out our own wandrings, before we can returne unto the Lord.

Lam. 3 40.

The fourth poynt followeth, that great ſinnes, ſuch as were among the *Iewes*, and doubtleſſe are amongſt us, do procure, not only a *viſitation*, but a *Vengeance*: which is an act of Gods wrath, and ſo a terrible puniſhment, in ſome ſort proportionable to the offence committed, which God inflicts upon men, not ſo much for their correction, as for the ſatisfying of his owne juſtice. Firſt I ſay, it is an act of Gods wrath, according to that, *Micah.* 5. 15. *I will execute vengeance in anger, and fury upon the Heathen.* Again, I ſay that God inflicteth vengeance upon men, not ſo much for their correction, as for the ſatisfying of his own juſtice. For this difference *Ariſtotle* puts between puniſhment and revenge, that puniſhment is for their ſakes that ſuffer it, and revenge for his ſake that takes it. So long as our ſinnes are any way tolerable, God doth only puniſh, intending our amendment; but if our ſinnes become great and grievous, ſuch as cry unto the heaven, God will

Lib. 1. Rhetor. c. 10.

pro-

proceed to revenge; then he will not looke so much unto us, as unto himselfe; for his honour is ingaged, and must be relieved, by executing vengeance upon the wicked. Gods Justice calls for revenge; for by sinne God is wronged, and he must be righted, and get himselfe honour upon those sinners who have dishonoured him. Thus being to execute judgement upon *Pharaoh*, he saith, *I will get mee honour upon Pharaoh*, *Exodus* 14. 17. God got himselfe honour, by magnifying his Justice in the destruction of that Rebellious Tyrant. This is a thing so agreeable to the Divine nature, that thereby God is known to be God, according to that of the *Psalmist*, *God is known by executing of judgement*. Hereby was he made knowen unto the *Egyptians*, as he saith, *Exod.* 7.5. *And the Egyptians shall know that I am the Lord, when I stretch forth mine hand upon Egypt*. Yea vengeance is so proper unto God, that he doth challenge it as his owne peculiar, *Deut.* 32.35. *Vengeance is mine, I will repay*. Which place is twice quoted by the Apostle, once *Rom.* 12,19. to dissuade us from private revenge: and againe, *Heb.* 10 30. to deterre us from wilfull sinning. Besides he is styled the *Lord God of Vengeance* twice, *Ps.* 94.1. and the *Lord God of Recompences*, by our Prophet cap. 51.56. and *Nahum.* 1.2. he is called a jealous, furious, and revenging God.

If God be an avenger; then let us remember what the Apostle saith, *It is a fearfull thing to fall into the hands of the living God*, *Heb.* 10 31. His wrath is a consuming fire, before which when it is kindled, the wicked shall be consumed, as stubble before the fire: when God commeth to revenge, they shall cry unto the Mountaines to fall upon them, and cover them from the face of him that sitteth on the Throne. We shall therefore doe well to advise with

our ſelves now, how we ſhall doe to beare that wrath; we ſhould now poſe our ſelves with that queſtion of the Prophet, *who among us ſhall dwell with the devouring fire? who among us ſhall dwell with the everlaſting burnings?* If Gods wrath be inſupportable, then ſhould we labour in time to prevent it. And the only way to prevent it is, now to revenge upon our ſelves for the ſinnes we have committed; for revenge is a part of Repentance, as is excellently expreſſed by the Apoſtle, 2 *Corin.* 7. 11. *Behold, the ſelfe ſame thing that yee ſorrowed after a godly ſort, what carefulneſſe it wrought in you; yea, what clearing of your ſelves; yea, what indignation; yea, what feare; yea, what vehement deſire; yea, what zeale; yea, what revenge?* But how ſhall we revenge upon our ſelves? even by mortifying our ſinfull luſts and corruptions, beating downe this body of ſin, afflicting our ſoules by faſting and abſtinence: we muſt not onely take from our fleſh all ſinfull pleaſures and delights; but alſo reſtraine our ſelves of the uſe of lawfull pleaſures, of meat and drinke: *Et abſtineat à licitis, quia illicita concupivit.* This is that worke whereunto we are now called, and whereof this day we make a profeſſion. If we doe truly humble our ſelves and afflict our ſoules, we ſhall not be judged of the Lord: otherwiſe Gods vengeance is neer at hand.

So it followeth in the fift place, That grievous ſins procure a ſpeedy vengeance, ſuch as God in his will doth earneſtly affect, and in his worke doth readily effect: for his ſoule is ſet upon revenge, *ſhall not my ſoule be avenged?* God is not as man conſiſting of ſoule and body; yet the Scripture ſpeaking of God after the manner of man, aſcribes unto him not only bodily members, as eyes, eares, hands; but even a ſoule alſo. Gods Soule is here mentioned

ned to expreſſe the earneſtneſſe of his deſire. As in other places when God is brought in, ſaying, *My ſoule hateth this, my ſoule abhorreth that*, it is to expreſſe a great and a vehement deteſtation: ſo here when God ſaith, *my ſoule ſhall be avenged*, he will expreſſe a vehement deſire. He will have his people to conceive that by their ſinnes they had grieved him (as we ſay) at the very heart, that is, offended him exceedingly, and that he will eaſe his heart by executing vengeance upon them, as he threatneth, Iſa. 1.24. *Ah, I will eaſe me of mine adverſaries, I will avenge me of mine enemies.*

Therefore let us take heed of grieving Gods ſoule: if his ſoule be grieved, his ſoule will be avenged. It is a dangerous thing to grieve men, eſpecially if they be powerfull; how much more dangerous is it; to grieve the great God of heaven and earth, as is expreſſed, *Iſa.7.13. It is a ſmall thing for you to weary men, but will you weary my God alſo?* Remember therefore the Apoſtles admonition, *Epheſ.4.30. Grieve not the holy ſpirit of God, whereby you are ſealed.* Or if we have grieved him by our ſinnes, the next beſt is, that we be grieved with our ſelves for all our abominations. That is the only way to keepe back Gods vengeance both from our ſelves and from the Nation.

For that is the ſixt concluſion ariſing from this Text, Grievous ſins bring a vengeance, not only upon particular perſons, but alſo upon the whole Nation: *Shall not my ſoule be avenged on ſuch a Nation?* As God in Scripture accuſeth particular perſons for ſinne, ſo he chargeth whole Nations, Kingdomes, and Cities. *Iudah is a ſinfull Nation, a people laden with iniquity*: Iſa.1.4. *Gilead is a City of them that worke iniquity, and is polluted with blood. Hoſ.6.8.* and in the fourth Chapter of that Prophecy at the firſt verſe,

the Lord takes up a complaint againſt the whole Land : *The Lord hath a controverſie with the inhabitants of the Land, becauſe there is no truth nor mercy, nor knowledge of God in the Land, &c.* The Apoſtle *Peter* taxeth the age with corruption, *Acts* 2.40. *Save your ſelves from this untoward generation.* And Saint *John* ſaith, *The whole World lyeth in wickedneſſe.* 1.Joh. 5. 19. And as the Nation is defiled with ſinne, ſo we finde that Gods judgements are generall upon the whole Nation : *when the Earth was filled with cruelty, and all fleſh corrupted his way,* then God ſent the floud upon the old World: the whole Cities of *Sodome* were overthrowen : Gods ten plagues were upon the Land of *Ægypt*, ſo that from *Pharaoh* that ſate upon the Throne, unto the Shepheards that followed the Ewes, there were none free from the annoyance of thoſe plagues : the ſeven Nations of the *Canaanites* were caſt out, when their iniquities were full : Gods wrath was upon all the Camp of *Iſrael* in the wilderneſſe. In the Prophets you will often finde judgements threatned againſt the whole Nation. *Iſa*, 1.7. *Your Countrey is deſolate, your Cities are burnt with fire, your Land ſtrangers devoure in your preſence.* Iſai. 60. 12. *The Nation and Kingdome that will not ſerve thee, ſhall periſh.* Hoſ. 4. 3. *Therefore ſhall the Land mourne, and every one that dwelleth therein ſhall languiſh, with the beaſts of the field, and with the foules of Heaven, yea the fiſhes of the Sea alſo ſhall be taken away.* Hoſ. 13. 16. *Samaria ſhall become deſolate, for ſhe hath Rebelled againſt her God : they ſhall fall by the ſword : their Infants ſhall be daſhed in pieces, and their women with child ſhall be ript up.* And as he threatned, ſo he executed his judgements upon the Nation : Firſt, the Kingdome of Samaria was ſo utterly deſtroyed, that it ceaſed to be a Nation any more : a little after the Kingdome

of

of *Judah* was carried away captive unto *Babel*, and albeit God was pleaſed to bring back againe their captivity, yet it was a very ſmall remnant, as ſaith the Prophet *Iſai.* 1.9. *Except the Lord of Hoſts had left unto us a very ſmall remnant, wee ſhould have beene as Sodome, and wee ſhould have beene like unto Gomorrah.* So God dealt with other Nations, *Zeph.*3.6. *I have cut off the Nations: their Townes are deſolate, I made their Streets waſte, that none paſſeth by: their Cities are deſtroyed, ſo that there is no man, that there is none inhabitant.* Even *Babylon* the hammer of the Earth *became heapes.* Jerem.51.37. *An habitation of Owles, Satyres dancing, and Dragons crying within her palaces.* Iſa.13.21. So we know God will doe unto myſticall *Babylon*: when her ſins have reached unto Heaven, then will the Lord remember her iniquities: ſhe ſhall be burnt with fire: yea, her deſtruction is ſo irrecoverable, that it is compared to a mill-ſtone caſt into the midſt of the Sea, which is not to be taken up againe. But to leave judgements to come, conſider what is become of the famous Kingdome in the Eaſt, where the Apoſtles themſelves planted Churches, and you will find that God hath removed their Candleſtick, or covered it under a buſhell; for they now groane under the ſlavery of the *Turke*. So true is that which Saint *Iames* ſaith, *Sinne when it is finiſhed, bringeth forth death.*

Here it will be expedient that I ſhew you briefly, what ſinnes theſe are that bring judgements upon the Nation, and what is the vengeance which God executeth upon a Nation. As to the firſt, it is not every ſinne that draweth judgements upon the Nation; but *ſinne when it is finiſhed*, or come to a full height: for there is a growth and perfection in ſinnes, both Perſonall and Nationall. Perſonall ſinnes are finiſhed, when men adde ſinne to ſin, acquire a

habite of ſinne, draw upon themſelves a neceſſity of ſining, harden their hearts, & continue in impenitency. There is a perfection alſo in Nationall ſins, and foure things concurre to the finiſhing of ſinne in a Nation. 1. Their number and quality, if they be many and grievous. 2. Their extent, if they be generall. 3. Their freedome, if they goe unpuniſhed. 4. Their continuance, if they be perſevered in without repentance. If the ſins of a Nation come once to this full height, then are they ripe for Gods ſickle, there will follow the death and deſtruction of that Nation. The vengeance which God executeth upon a Nation hath three degrees: the firſt I may call affliction, the 2d captivitiy, & the 3d utter deſtruction. For affliction, when God viſits a Kingdome with divers plagues, ſuch as are mentioned in the fourth of *Amos*, where he reckoneth up the ſeverall plagues which he had inflicted upon his people, as famine, or *cleannes of teeth*, ver. 6. *drought or want of raine*; ver. 7. *blaſting and mildew*, ver. 9. *Peſtilence and the Sword*, ver. 10. And when for all theſe they did not returne unto the Lord, hee threatneth yet a greater judgement, *ver.* 12. *Therefore thus will I doe unto thee, O Iſrael*: For this is Gods method in puniſhing: he beginneth with milder corrections, and when theſe cannot prevaile, he proceeds to ſharper judgements. In the fift of *Hoſ.* firſt he threatneth a gentle correction, ver. 12. *I will be unto Ephraim as a Moth, and to the houſe of Iudah as rottennesſe.* But when they were not affected with the ſlow gnawing of a ſmall Moth, he threatneth a heavier judgement, ver. 14. *I will be unto Ephraim as a Lyon, and as a young Lion to the houſe of Iudah; I, even I, will teare and goe away: I will take away, and none ſhall reſcue him.* And *Leviti.* 26. he threatneth ſeverall plagues againſt the tranſgreſſors of his

Law:

Law: firſt, ſickneſſe ver. 16. then famine, ver. 9. after this deſtruction of their cattell, ver. 22. after that the ſword and Peſtilence, ver. 25. And after all theſe he addeth, *And if you will not for all this hearken unto me, then will I bring ſeven times more plagues upon you*; as if hee ſhould ſay, ſince ordinary afflictions cannot worke upon you, yee ſhall even goe into captivity. This is the ſecond degree of vengeance which God brought upon his people, their abuſed ſoyle upon a ſurfeit of wickedneſſe, did ſpue out her perfidious owners; they were carried captive unto *Babel*, and there were ſervants to a people, whoſe gods they knew not, whoſe language they did not underſtand: and as it was foretold, *Their countrey was deſolate, their Cities burnt with fire, ſtrangers did devoure their Land in their preſence, & the Daughter of Sion was left as a Cottage in a Vineyard, as a lodge in a garden of Cucumbers, as a beſieged City.* *Iſa.* 1. 7. 8. The third degree of vengeance which God bringeth upon a Nation, is utter deſtruction, ſuch as God brought upon the old World, upon *Sodome* and *Gomorrah*, upon the Kingdome of *Iſrael*. It pleaſed God to bring back againe the captivity of *Iudah*, and they were as a firebrand plucked out of the fire: but the flouriſhing Kingdome of the ten Tribes came to a finall end, and ſo vaniſhed in that her diſſipation, that no man ſince could ever ſay, this was *Iſrael*. Here was vengeance upon the whole Nation.

Such vengeance will God execute upon any Nation, if their ſinnes be come to a full height: and therefore howſoever thou be deſperately careleſſe of thy ſelfe, yet pitty the Nation that bred thee, and wherein thou breatheſt. If *Paris* be famous to this day, for occaſioning the deſtruction of *Troy*: how ſhall your names be branded with ignominy,

nominie, if you bring deſtruction upon your Nation? but if you regard not the ſhame, yet feare the torment will follow your own Soules: God will require the bloud of them that periſh by your meanes, at your hands. If they that turne many to righteouſneſſe ſhall ſhine as the ſtarres, brighter then the firmament; then they who turne many unto wickeneſſe, ſhall burne in Heſl as brimſtone it ſelfe, hotter then other wicked men, which yet ſhall be Faggots in Hell fire. The rich glutton in Hell had a great care for his brethren, that they ſhould not come into thoſe torments; and the reaſon is, he knew that then his owne torments ſhould be increaſed, becauſe by his example, he had been the author of their deſtruction. Have, I beſeech you, at leaſt as much charity, as damned *Dives* had; pitty your Nation, and be carefull that others fare not the worſe for your ſakes.

The laſt poynt is, That no priviledges and prerogatives can ſecure a Nation from judgement; but if iniquity doe abound, God will be avenged on any Nation, even upon this Nation of the *Iewes* which was his own people. Indeed never a Nation under the Cope of Heaven could compare with the *Iewes* for prerogatives: they were Gods people by peculiar adoption: the Lord did chuſe them above all the people of the earth to ſet his love upon them: he gave his lawes unto *Iacob*, and his teſtimonies to *Iſrael*: he dealt not ſo with every Nation, as he dealt with them. *To them pertaineth* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *the adoption and the glory, and the covenant, and the giving of the Law, and the ſervice of God, and the promiſes: whoſe are the Fathers, and of whom as concerning the fleſh, Chriſt came*, Rom. 9. 4. They had the Temple of God amongſt them, of which the Lord himſelfe ſpeaketh thus: *This is my reſt for ever; here*

here will I dwell. Pſ. 132. 14. They had amongſt them the Arke of the Covenant, the Mercy-ſeat, the true worſhip of God, and what not? and yet they falling from God by a perpetuall Rebellion, muſt be deſtroyed, defaced, extinguiſhed, and made a fearfull ſpectacle of Gods wrath to all poſteritie. Thoſe prerogatives which they had, and the worſhip of God in which they truſted, could not free them from vengeance, as the Lord himſelfe forewarned them in the ſeventh chap. of this Propheeie: *Behold yee truſt in lying words, which cannot profit, ſaying, the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord; will yee ſteale, murther, commit adultery, ſweare falſely, burne incenſe unto Baal, and walke after other Gods whom yee know not; and come and ſtand before me in my houſe, which is called by my name, and ſay, we are delivered to doe all theſe abominations? Is this houſe, which is called by my name, become a den of robbers? Therefore will I doe unto this houſe, which is called by my name, and wherein yee truſt, as I have done to to Shiloh: and I will caſt you out of my ſight, as I caſt out all your brethren, even the whole ſeed of Ephraim.* Yea thoſe prerogatives and benefits which they had received, were ſo farre from ſaving them in the day of vengeance, that they did aggravate their guiltineſſe, and double their condemnation, as is expreſſed *Amos* 3. 2. *you onely have I knowne of all the families of the Earth, therefore will I puniſh you for all your iniquities*: as if he ſhould ſay, becauſe I bleſſed you more then others, ſeeing now that you prove unthankfull, I will puniſh you more then others. God uſeth his former benefits, as arguments to prove that judgements were due unto them: for theſe three follow of courſe, *Ingentia beneficia, ingentia peccata, ingentes pœnæ*: where God vouchſafeth to conferre great benefits upon a Nation, and they

 anſwer

answer him with great sins, certaine it is, that great judgements will ensue. How doth our Saviour take on against these Cities, where he had preached, and wrought many miracles, and they were not converted? *Woe be to thee Corazin, Woe be to thee Bethsaida, woe be to thee Capernaum: for if that the great workes that have beene done in thee, had been done in Tyrus and Sydon, in Sodome and Gomorrah, they would have repented; but it shall be easier for them of Tyrus, for them of Sodome at the day of judgement, then it shall be for you, Matth.* 11. 20. *&c.* So may I say unto many who now injoy the meanes of Salvation, and have drunk deepe of the cup of Gods blessings, and yet continue in their sins: the time shall come when they shall cry out, oh that I were of *Sodome*, oh that I were of *Gomorrah*, oh that I had beene borne a *Turke*, a *Pagan*, and never knowne the good Word of God, rather then having knowne it, to have turned away from the holy Commandement.

Let us not therefore flatter our selves, in respect of an outward profession of the true Religion, and because of the manifold blessings wherewith Almighty God hath blessed our Nations: for when God once commeth out of his place to punish the Inhabitants of the earth for their iniquities, then the plea of *Templum Domini* will not serve the turne, if reformation of the heart and life be wanting: The *Jewes*, because they had *Abraham* to their Father, thought themselves free, and could not endure to heare of bondage: and indeed they were the seed of *Iacob*, the only visible Church that God had; yet when the faithfull City became an Harlot, God gave her a bill of divorce, his soule was avenged upon that Nation. Good God, if thy justice spared not *Ierusalem*, what Nation can looke to escape? The Apostle directs us, what use we should make

of

of all the punishments of the *Iewes*, 1. *Cvrin.* 10. 6. &c. *Now these things were our examples, to the intent that we should not lust after evill things, as they also lusted.* And that Scripture brings me to my generall application.

You have heard Gods threatning against his people, in handling whereof I have proved, that great sins procure not onely a visitation, but a vengeance, yea, a speedy vengeance, not only upon particular persons, but even upon the whole Nation, yea, upon any Nation, though never so neare and deare unto God, as upon the Nation of the *Iewes*. Now if we will reflect upon our selves, we will find that we may vie blessings with the *Iewes*, blessings spirituall, and blessings temporall, the blessing of Peace the blessing of plenty, the blessing of many great and extraordinary deliverances from our enemies, and above all, the inestimable blessing of the word of God. And it fears me, that we shall find, we may tell sins with them also, and overmatcht them by farre.

I pray you what were the sins for which God was pleased to execute vengeance upon his owne people? Was it Epicurisme and fleshly lusts; for these standing next to the threatning in my Text, *when I had fed them to the full, they then committed adultery, they assembled themselves by troopes in the harlots houses: they were as fed Horses in the morning: every one neighed after his Neighbours wife*: Whereupon followeth this threatning, *shall I not visit for these things*? Or was their sinne Blood and Oppression, Bribery and Injustice, Fraud and Deceipt, Robbery and Extortion, Lying, Avarice and Ambition, Pride and Prodigality, Oathes and Blasphemy? Or was their sinne Ingratitude and Hypocrisie, neglect of Gods word, disobedience to his call, abuse of his servants, and prophanation of his Sabboths?

answer him with great sins, certaine it is, that great judgements will ensue. How doth our Saviour take on against these Cities, where he had preached, and wrought many miracles, and they were not converted? *Woe be to thee Corazin, Woe be to thee Bethsaida, woe be to thee Capernaum: for if that the great workes that have beene done in thee, had been done in Tyrus and Sydon, in Sodome and Gomorrah, they would have repented; but it shall be easier for them of Tyrus, for them of Sodome at the day of judgement, then it shall be for you, Matth.* 11. 20. *&c.* So may I say unto many who now injoy the meanes of Salvation, and have drunk deepe of the cup of Gods blessings, and yet continue in their sins: the time shall come when they shall cry out, oh that I were of *Sodome*, oh that I were of *Gomorrah*, oh that I had beene borne a *Turke*, a *Pagan*, and never knowne the good Word of God, rather then having knowne it, to have turned away from the holy Commandement.

Let us not therefore flatter our selves, in respect of an outward profession of the true Religion, and because of the manifold blessings wherewith Almighty God hath blessed our Nations: for when God once commeth out of his place to punish the Inhabitants of the earth for their iniquities, then the plea of *Templum Domini* will not serve the turne, if reformation of the heart and life be wanting. The *Jewes*, because they had *Abraham* to their Father, thought themselves free, and could not endure to heare of bondage: and indeed they were the seed of *Iacob*, the only visible Church that God had; yet when the faithfull City became an Harlot, God gave her a bill of divorce, his soule was avenged upon that Nation. Good God, if thy justice spared not *Ierusalem*, what Nation can looke to escape? The Apostle directs us, what use we should make

of

of all the punishments of the *Iewes*, 1. *Corin.* 10. 6. &c. *Now these things were our examples, to the intent that we should not lust after evill things, as they also lusted.* And that Scripture brings me to my generall application.

You have heard Gods threatning against his people, in handling whereof I have proved, that great sins procure not onely a visitation, but a vengeance, yea, a speedy vengeance, not only upon particular persons, but even upon the whole Nation, yea, upon any Nation, though never so neare and deare unto God, as upon the Nation of the *Iewes*. Now if we will reflect upon our selves, we will find that we may vie blessings with the *Iewes*, blessings spirituall, and blessings temporall, the blessing of Peace the blessing of plenty, the blessing of many great and extraordinary deliverances from our enemies, and above all, the inestimable blessing of the word of God. And it fears me, that we shall find, we may tell sins with them also, and overmatcht them by farre.

I pray you what were the sins for which God was pleased to execute vengeance upon his owne people? Was it Epicurisme and fleshly lusts; for these standing next to the threatning in my Text, *when I had fed them to the full, they then committed adultery, they assembled themselves by troopes in the harlots houses: they were as fed Horses in the morning: every one neighed after his Neighbours wife*: Whereupon followeth this threatning, *shall I not visit for these things?* Or was their sinne Blood and Oppression, Bribery and Injustice, Fraud and Deceipt, Robbery and Extortion, Lying, Avarice and Ambition, Pride and Prodigality, Oathes and Blasphemy? Or was their sinne Ingratitude and Hypocrisie, neglect of Gods word, disobedience to his call, abuse of his servants, and prophanation of his Sab-

boths, carnall ſecurity, hardneſſe of heart, and contempt of Gods judgements? Or was it corruption in worſhip and groſſe idolatry? Of all theſe crimes they ſtand indicted by the Prophets, and in all theſe we have gone beyond them: as *Jeruſalem* juſtified *Samaria*, ſo have we more then juſtified *Jeruſalem* in all her abominations. I will inſtance only in one, or two. Our Prophet ſaith, Chap. 23. 10. *Becauſe of ſwearing the Land mourneth.* And yet the leaſt child in our ſtreets could teach them all to ſweare: that ſin could not be ſo very common amongſt them; for they had a cuſtome to teare their clothes, when they heard one to blaſpheme: if we ſhould doe ſo in this age, I am ſure we ſhould not leave a ragge upon our backs. As we goe beyond them in ſwearing, ſo alſo in lying: never was there any *Iew*, nor *Frier* either, that had a face ſo impudent, to deviſe ſuch lies, as now are publiſhed, allowed, rewarded, as being the beſt meanes they have to advance their holy Cauſe. Beſides, there are many ſins common amongſt us, which were either rare, or altogether unknowne unto the *Iewes*; as Uſury, which was not practiſed by them, except in their dealing with ſtrangers: neither doe we read of their Sacriledge, till after their returne from the captivity. Here, if time would permit me to ſpeake of your gaming, dicing, of your Maſques, and Stage-playes, &c. I could make it appeare, that there are many great ſinnes allowed amongſt us, which were not knowne vnto the *Iewes*, nor ſo much as heard of in *Sodome* or *Gomorrah*. We haue new devices to cozen with, new inventions to pamper our bodies. and ſacrifice to our panch, new faſhions to be proud with, new oathes to blaſpheme with, new dreſſings and tires of women to provoke luſt: we have a new Rebellion, ſuch as was

not knowne unto Gods people, and cannot be parallel'd amongſt the heathen: we have got a new Covenant to ſtrengthen that Rebellion; two new Idols ſet up, like *Ieroboams* Calues to draw away the people from the houſe of *David*, but that the one is inconſiſtent with the other; the Preſbytery of *Geneva*, and the independencie of *New-England*, and we haue almoſt as many new Religions as there were gods amongſt the heathen. Now *ſhall not God viſit for theſe things? and ſhall not his ſoule be avenged on ſuch a Nation as this?*

But beſides the number and quality of ſinnes, other things concurre to the finiſhing of ſinne in a Nation; as their extent, if they be generall; their freedome, if they be not puniſhed; their continuance, if they be perſevered in without repentance: and if we take a true view of our Nation, we ſhall find that none of theſe are wanting. Sin is ſo generall, that Almighty God now might cal for a ſearch as he doth in the firſt verſe of this Chap. *Runne ye to and fro through the ſtreets of Ieruſalem, and ſee now and know, and ſeek in the broad places thereof, if ye can find a man, if there be any that executeth judgement, and ſeeketh the truth.* If God ſhould call for ſuch a ſearch to be made in our Land, I beleeve that but few ſuch ſhould be found. And for further tryall hereof, following the example of our Prophet, in the fifth verſe, Firſt, *I will get me unto the great men* of the Land, to ſee if *they have knowne the way of the Lord, and the judgement of their God: but theſe have altogether broken the yoke, and burſt the bands.* Their houſes are full of bribes, their hands are full of violence, they build unto themſelves houſes with the blood of the poore: if they doe not turne juſtice into wormwood, by a wrongful ſentence; yet I dare ſay, that they turne juſtice into vinegar,

by their delayes. From the Rulers of the Land, I will passe unto the house of *Levi*, to see yet if the Priests lips doe preserve knowledge, and their hearts holinesse. Alas nothing lesse; but as the *Princes of Jerusalem are as roaring Lyons, and their Iudges as Wolves? so her Prophets are light and treacherous persons: her Priests have polluted the Sanctuary, they have wrested the Law. Zeph.* 3. 3, 4. The Lord may complaine now, as he doeth by our Prophet, Chap. 23. 11. *both Priest and Prophet are prophane, yea in my house haue I found their wickednesse, saith the Lord.* But I shall not need to accuse the Clergy; for every mans mouth is open against them, and your sacrilegious abuse of them, is not the least of these sinnes, which God now cals to remembrance; yet it cannot be denyed, but, as it is said, *Mal.* 2. 8. *We have broken the Covenant of Levi, and therefore hath God made us contemptible and base before all the people.* It were easie to goe through all Estates and conditions of men, and shew that sinne like an Epidemicall disease possesseth the whole body of the Land, so that *from the soale of the Foot, even unto the head, there is no soundnesse in it, but wounds and bruises, and putrifying sores*, as is said of *Judah*, Isa. 1. 6. And as our sinnes are generall, so are they committed with great freedome: men are not restrained either with shame, or feare of punishment, which maketh our case yet more desperate. When *Phinees* drew the sword, and smote the adulterous persons, he turned away Gods wrath, and caused the plague to cease: but where there is not a *Phinees* to draw the sword for the punishment of vice, there the guilt of these sinnes lyes upon the Land, and draws downe the judgements of God upon the Nation, And it is not so with us now? for judgement is not executed, all sinnes are either veniall, or venall: even

the blood of many thousand Innocents shed by Rebells, cryeth unto the heavens for a vengeance, because there is none in earth to revenge it. And finally, doe we not continue in our sinnes without repentance, hardening our hearts against all Gods admonitions? So that it may be said of us, as was said of *Ahaz*, That *in the time of our distresse wee trespasse yet more against the Lord.* Now *shall I not visit for these things, (saith the Lord) shall not my soule be avenged on such a Nation as this?* 2 Chron. 28. 22.

Yes, Almighty God hath alreadie begun to visit; he is come downe to execute vengeance upon our sinfull Nation. In *Ireland* there is nothing but ruine, desolation, and woe; *dii multa neglecti dederunt hesperiæ mala luctuosæ*: we of that sinnefull Land did provoke God; and he hath stretched over us the line of *Sodome*, the Plummet of *Samaria*. And as he hath done to *Ireland*, so is he like to doe to *England*: for he hath kindled a fire in your bosomes; he hath sent such an evill spirit betweene the King and His People, as he did betweene *Abimelech* and the men of *Sechem*. This Kingdome, which is secured by Seas from Forraigne Invasion, is now like to destroy it selfe: for there is such a bloody, cruell, and unnaturall Rebellion in it, as may minister matter and occasion to a new booke of *Lamentations*. This Kingdome was once like *Israel*, *great among the Nations, and Princesse among the Provinces; the perfection of beauty, the joy of the whole earth*; a refuge and shelter to strangers in distresse. But now *the Lord hath cast downe her beauty from heaven unto the earth: he hath swallowed up all the habitations of Jacob, and hath not pitied: he hath slaine all that were pleasant to the eye, he hath powred out his fury like fire; the Lord hath cast off his Altar: he hath abhorred his Sanctuary; he hath taken away his Tabernacle;* Iudg. 9 25. Lam. 1. v. c. 2. 5. v. 1. 2. v. 4. v. 7.

he

v. 6. *he hath deſtroyed his places of the aſſembly: the Lord hath cauſed the ſolemne feaſts to be forgotten, and hath deſpiſed in the indignation of his anger the King and the Prieſt.* In a word, God hath brought ſo many calamities upon this Land, that I could ſay with our Prophet, Chap. 9. 1. *Oh that my head were waters, and mine eyes a fountaine of teares, that I might weepe day and night for the ſlaine of the daughter of my people.* God hath ſent amongſt us his three great plagues, famine, peſtilence, the ſword: The greateſt of theſe is the ſword, as may appeare by *Davids* choyce: and now the Lord hath put the ſword in Commiſſion; he hath ſent it to ride Circuit from one County to another, as is expreſſed, Cha. 47. 6. *O thou ſword of the Lord, how long will it be ere thou be quiet? Put up thy ſelfe into thy ſcabberd, reſt, and be ſtill.* Whereunto anſwer is made in the next words, *how can it be quiet, ſeeing the Lord hath given it a charge againſt Aſhkelon, and againſt the ſea ſhore: there hath he appoynted it.* Such a charge hath he given unto his ſword at this time. It is a ſword like that which is deſcribed, *Ezek.* 21. *A ſword, a ſword ſharpned, and alſo fourbiſhed* ver. 9. *It is the ſword of the great men that were ſlain, entring into the priuy Chambers*, ver. 14. *It contemneth the rod of my ſonne*, ver. 10. that is, it regardeth not the Kings Scepter, where even the *Geneva* note in the Margine tells us, that the King is called the Sonne of God, becauſe that all men ſhould reverence Him as being in Gods place. But this is a deſperate ſword, as is expreſſed, *verſe* 13. *And what ſhall this be, if the ſword contemne even the rod?* Such is the ſword which God hath ſent againſt our Land: It contemneth the rod, deſpiſeth the Scepter, & ſpareth not the perſon of the King himſelfe; ſo that *the breath of our noſtrills, the anoynted of the Lord was almoſt taken in their pits.*

Lam.

Law, 4. 20. This ſword is ſo deſperate, that it devoureth without reſpect of ſex, age, or conditions of men: and there is no end of deſtroying. We may now with ſad hearts, and wet eyes behold the whole Kingdome, like a ſorrowfull Widow; not onely as *Rebecca*, pained with the ſtrugling of her children in her wombe; but as *Rachel*, weeping for her children, who will not be comforted becauſe they are not.

It is reported of *Judas Macchabæus*, 2. *Mac.* 12. that after a ſlaughter of the People, he cauſed to offer up Sacrifice for the dead. Now howſoever that author hath related this ſtory, yet I cannot believe that *Judas* offered any Sacrifice for the benefit of the dead; for certainly that error is not ſo ancient: but it may wel be, that he cauſed to offer up Sacrifice becauſe of the dead, that is to ſay, by the ſlaughter of thoſe men that fell, he perceived that Gods wrath was kindled againſt all the People, and ſo he offered Sacrifice to make an atonement for themſelves. So we ſhall doe well now, to offer up ſacrifice becauſe of the Slain, to turn away Gods wrath from us, leſt we all likewiſe periſh. I know there is a ſacrifice intended; but it is ſuch as will make no atonement. Many diveliſh polititians would now make a ſacrifice of the Church: they call it a Reformation of Religion, but it would prove the deſtruction of it. This hath bin often attempted before, and it was obſerved by M. *Cartwright*, & the author of the *Eccleſiaſticall diſcipline*, that it was covetouſneſſes which ſet on work their Lay-followers, to bring in their diſcipline. *Whileſt they heare us ſpeake againſt Biſhops and Cathedrall Churches* (ſaith the author of the *Eccleſiaſticall diſcipline*) *it tickleth their eares, looking for the like prey they had be-*

 fore

fore of Monaſteries; Yea, they have in their hearts devoured already the Churches inheritance. They care not for Religion, ſo they may get the ſpoyle. They could be content to crucifie Chriſt, ſo they might have his garments. Our age is full of ſpoyling ſouldiers, and of wicked Dionyſians, *who will robbe Chriſt of his golden Coate, as neither fit for him in Winter nor in Summer.* And ſaith M. Cartwright, *They are Cormorants, and ſeeke to fil the bottomleſſe ſacks of their greedy appetites. They doe yawne after a prey, and would thereby, to their perpetuall ſhame, purchaſe to themſelves a field of blood.* So that even in the judgement of theſe men who were the founders of this Rebellious Sect, it is no acceptable ſacrifice to God, for men to appropriate to themſelves the maintenance of the Church, and ſuch things as have been dedicated to Gods ſervice. This is not to offer up a Sacrifice to God, but to ſacrifice the things that are Gods unto wicked and Sacrilegious men. Such a Sacrifice will be ſo farre from pacifying Gods wrath, that it will incenſe it the more againſt us, and againſt the whole Land: ſuch a Sacrifice will be as abominable unto God, as was under the Law, *the cutting off a Dogs neck, and the offering of Swines blood.* Iſa. 68. 3.

It is another Sacrifice wherewith we muſt make an atonement, even that Sacrifice which *David*, repenting of his ſin, vowed unto God, *Pſ.* 51. 17. *The ſacrifice of a broken and contrite heart, which God will not deſpiſe.* Wee muſt humble our ſelves in the ſenſe of our ſins, and cry mightily unto God, that the fierceneſſe of his wrath may be turned away. By this humiliation Gods wrath hath beene often pacifyed: *Ahab* by an outward humiliation, procured the adjourning of a temporall judgement. So did

did the *Ninevites*, when their destruction was within fortie dayes, they humbled themselves and fasted; whereupon the Lord repealed his sentence, and they were not destroyed. In the second of *Ioel* I find, that even when the *day of the Lord was nigh at hand*, ver. 1. that is, destruction readie to fall upon them presently, yet God was willing to stay his hand, and that his people should make his threatnings voyd: for in the 12. verse he exhorts them unto repentance, saying, *Therefore also now, saith the Lord, turne you unto me*: also now, that is, even now when the sentence is gone forth, when the judgement is at hand, now when I have whet my Sword, bent my Bow, and prepared the instruments of death; yet *Turne ye unto me with all your heart, and with fasting, and with weeping, and with mourning: rent your hearts,* ——— *and turne unto the Lord your God; for he is gracious and mercifull,* ——— *who knoweth if he will returne and repent, and leave a blessing behind him?* ——— *Therefore blow the Trumpet in Sion, sanctifie a Fast, call a solemne Assembly.* ——— *Let the Priests, the Ministers of the Lord weepe betweene the Porch and the Altar, and say, Spare thy People, O Lord, and give not thine heritage to reproach.* When *Shishak* King of *Egypt*, came up against *Ierusalem*, in the dayes of *Rehoboam*, and tooke in the fenced Cities of *Iudah*; *The Princes of Israel and the King humbled themselves: And when the Lord saw they humbled themselves, the word of the Lord came to Shemaiah, saying, They have humbled themselves, therefore I will not destroy them, but I will grant them some deliverance, and my wrath shall not be poured out upon Ierusalem by the hand of Shishak.* 2 *Chron.* 12. 7. So powerfull is true humiliation to asswage the flames of Gods

wrath. But for want of this humiliation, many times Gods people, maintaining a good Cauſe by lawfull authoritie, yet are foyled; as were the *Iſraelites* before *Ai*, who could not prevaile, untill ſuch time as *Ioſhua fell on his face, and mourned and cried unto the Lord.* Ioſ.7.6. The *Iſraelites* going againſt the Tribe of *Benjamin*, were Gods people, they had a good Cauſe, and a ſpeciall Commiſſion from God; yet were they twice foyled, becauſe they did neglect to ſeek God by repentance and humiliation, as doth appeare by the event: for being beaten unto it, *they went up to the Lord, and wept and faſted, and offered burnt offerings and Peace-offerings before the Lord.* Iudg. 20. 26. Whereupon they overcame the *Benjamites*. In the firſt of *Sam.*7. 6. it is ſaid, *that the people drew water and powred it out before the Lord, and faſted*; that is, as the *Chaldee* obſerveth, they poured out their hearts before God, and ſhed teares in ſuch abundance, as if they had drawne water and powred it upon the ground: whereupon God tooke their Cauſe in hand againſt the *Philiſtims*. So *Iehoſophat* proclaimed a Faſt when the *Moabites* came againſt him. 2 *Chron.*20, 3. And it is reported of *Otho* the great, that being to joyne battel with the *Hungarians*, he proclaimed a Faſt in his Campe, and called upon God. If we would thus humble our ſelves, God would ſoone humble our enemies: it is his owne Covenant, *Pſ.*81. 13. *O that my people had hearkened unto me, and Iſrael had walked in my wayes: I ſhould ſoone have ſubdued their enemies, and turned my hand againſt their adverſaries.* This Covenant is expreſſely ſet downe by our Prophet, *Chap.*18.7,8. *At what inſtant I ſhall ſpeake concerning a Nation, and concerning a Kingdome, to pluck up and to pull downe, and deſtroy it: if that*

Nation

Nation against whom I have pronounced, turne from their evill, I will repent of the evill that I thought to doe unto them. The like is promised, 2. *Chron.* 7. 14. *If my people which are called by my name, shall humble themselves, and pray, and seek my face, and turne from their wicked wayes: then will I heare from Heaven, and will forgive their sin, and heale their Land.* Where observe, that we must not only humble our selves, pray, and seeke Gods face: but also we must turne from our wicked wayes; otherwise we cannot expect that God should heale our Land.

Therefore in the next place I say, that with our humiliation, we must joyne the reformation of our lives. It is not enough that we bow down our heads like a bul-rush, and afflict our soules for a day by fasting: if afterwards we returne to our sins as a dogge to his vomit: we have often fasted, or made a shew to fast, since this bloody Rebellion begun: but it seemes God hath not regarded our Fastings, for his anger is not turned away but his hand is stretched out still. And the reason is, we doe not fast from sin: but pour out our selves into all manner of wickednesse and so long as we by our sins fight against God, we may be sure that God will fight against us. When *Trajan*, Generall to *Valens* the persecuting Emperour, was defeated by the *Gothes*; the Emperour upbraiding him with cowardise and sloth, as the causes of the overthrow, he told the Emperour, that himselfe was the cause of the losse, for *you doe so warre against God*; (saith he) *that you abandon the victory, and send it to your Enemies.* When *Phocas* had built a mighty wall about his Palace for his security, in the night he heard a voyce, saying, *O King, though thou build as high as the clouds, yet the City may*

Nicepho. lib. 11. cap. 4.

Cedren. Hist. pag. 542.

may easily be taken; the sinne within will marre all. Except sin be cast over the wals, a wall of brasse is but a vaine thing. To this purpose speaketh the *Comick*, *Si incolæ benè sint morati pulchrè munitam arbritror; at nisi invidia, avaritia, ambitio exulent, centuplex murus parum est.* Therefore the Romans at first in their warrs (as *Vlpian* and *Flavius Vopiscus* doe testifie) made choice of no criminous parties, no adulterers, no condemned persons; yea, no bondslaves, nor contentious brawlers. But afterward (as *Livie* saith) the Common-wealth being brought to the very pinch of despaire, they imployed such wicked persons, whereof *Scipio* complained, saying, *Non est mihi tantum ab hostibus armatis periculi, &c.* We need not so much to fear the forces of our enemies, as our own ill conditions: for indeed, as *Ambrose* saith, *Graviores sunt inimici mores pravi, quam hostes infesti,* Our sinnes are enemies more to be feared, then armed men. It is our sins that have layd Christian Kindomes open to the tyranny of the Turke, & now our sins have betrayed us into the hands of more cruell and barbarous enemies, then the Turkes: our sins are the only cause of their prevailing: they have not prevailed so farre, for that their cause is good, or their carriage better then their cause, (for both are starke naught) but God cannot endure that in his own people, which for a time he will in his enemies: the *Midianites* who caused the *Israelites* to sin, were worse then the *Israelites*, yet God first corrected his owne people, and then vexed the *Midianites*. Therefore how carefully should wee take heed unto our wayes, now when the sword is upon the land? many think that in the time of war, there is a liberty of sin, and they may doe what they list, & such is now, for

Liv. l. 10. Dec. 3.

for the moſt part, the carriage of our Soludlers: they doe not *Sanctifie a warre*, as God requireth, *Ioel.* 3. 9. but by their godleſſe behaviour they diſcredit the good cauſe for which they fight. As we ſhould keepe our ſelves from ſin at all times, ſo eſpecially in the time of warre: ſin hath no time allowed for it, but it is never more untimely, nor out of ſeaſon, then in the time of Warre; for Warre is the puniſhment of ſinne; Warre is the ſickneſſe, ſin is the ſurfeit: now when we are ſicke of a ſurfeit, will we not be careſull to order our ſelves well, to keep a ſtrict diet, and not then to *drinke in iniquity like water*, diſtemper our ſelves, as though wee were in perfect ſtate of health, and ſo make our diſeaſe deſperate? Warre is the *rod of Gods wrath* for our ſinnes: now when Gods fearfull rod is over us, when his hand is upon us for our ſinnes, then to ſinne and provoke God more, is a high contempt againſt him, a putting him to open defiance. Warre is an act of Juſtice, of juſtice corrective, whoſe office is to puniſh ſinne: and is it not abſurd, that we ſhould then poure out our ſelves into ſinne, when we goe about to correct ſinne in others? Or with what face can we puniſh Rebells, when wee our ſelves ſtand out in rebellion againſt God? Beſides, God is the Lord of hoſts, the battell is his, and he giveth the victory: now how can we expect that God ſhould give us any victory, or goe out and in with our Armies, if we continue ſtill in our ſinnes, whereby Gods wrath is provoked againſt us? Remember therefore, I beſeech you, that caveat which God hath given us, *Deut.* 23. 9. it is the great Canon of Martiall-diſcipline: *When thou goeſt out with the hoſt againſt thine enemies, keepe thee*

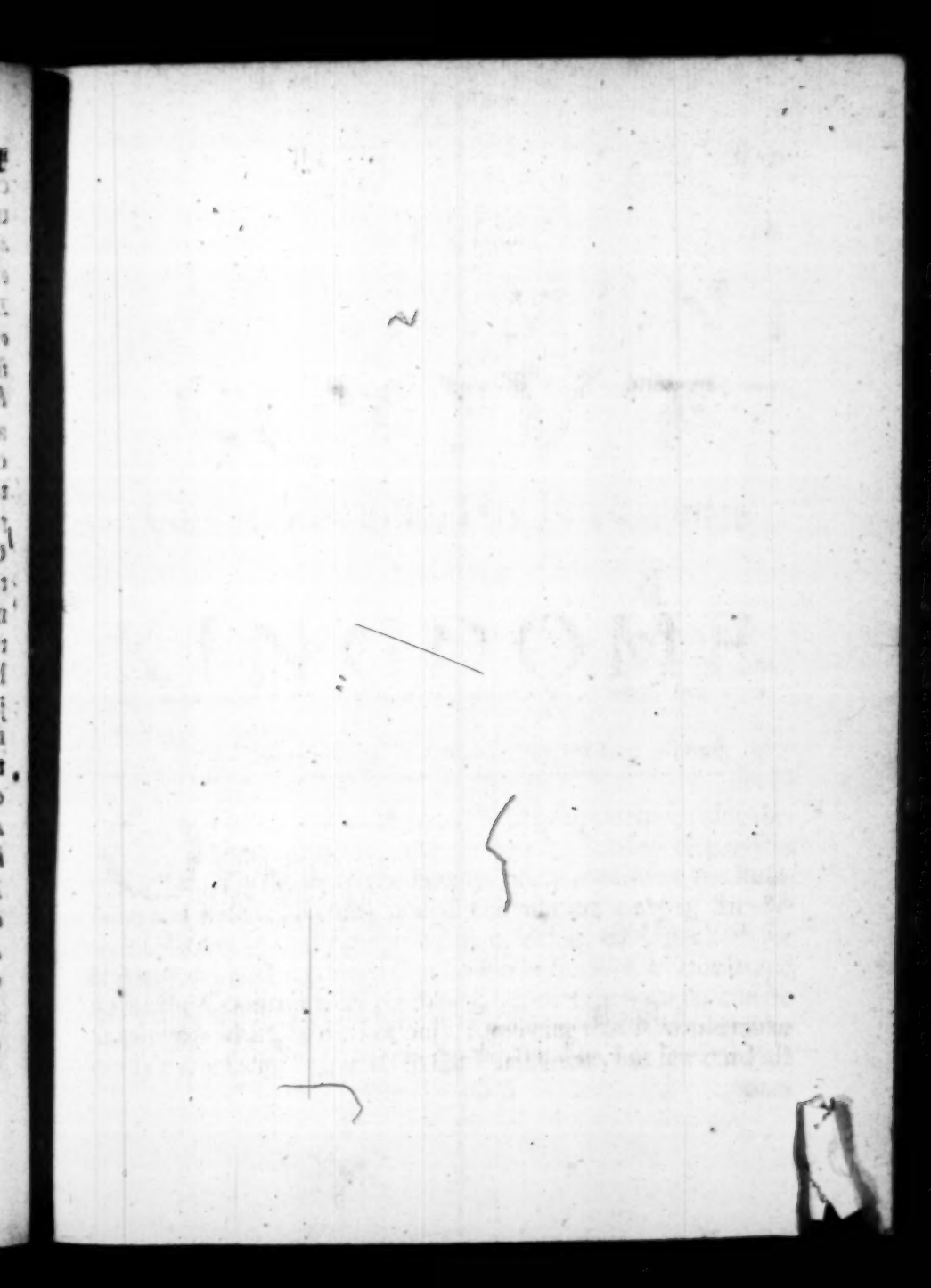
then from all wickednesse. The reason followeth, *ver* 14. *For the Lord thy God walketh in the midst of thy Campe, to deliver thee, and to give up thine enemies before thee: therefore shall thy Campe be holy, that he see no uncleane thing in thee, and turne away from thee.* For by experience we find that speech to be true, which *Azariah* the Prophet spake to King *Asa*, 2. *Chron.* 15. 2. *The Lord is with you, while yee are with him; but if yee forsake him, he will forsake you.*

As with our humiliation we must joyne reformation of our lives; so we must testifie this our repentance by workes of mercy and charity towards the poore: *Daniel* joynes these two together, in that counsell which he gave unto *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Breake off thy sinnes by righteousnesse, and thine iniquities by shewing mercy to the poore. Dan.* 4. 27. Surely if ever there were a time to extend the bowells of mercy, now it is, when there are so many objects of mercy, even men full of misery. But that whereunto I am now to exhort you, is not onely a worke of charity and mercy; but an act of thankfulnesse whereunto you are bound by the Law of Nature, namely to contribute for the relieſe of the poore, maimed, and sick Souldiers, who have ventured their lives, and spent their blood for the defence of their Country. I will adde onely one thing more, that this our repentance must be generall, as our sin is generall and Nationall: a particular man, by turning from his wicked wayes, may avert a particular judgement hanging over his owne head; but where the Rebellion against God hath been generall, and the judgement prepared is some generall calamity upon the Land, there nothing

nothing can turne away Gods wrath, but a generall convertion unto God; as the Lord himſelfe hath taught us, *Ezech.* 14. 13. *Sonne of man, when the Land ſinneth againſt me by treſpaſſing grievouſly, then will I ſtretch out my hand upon it: and though theſe three men, Noah, Daniell, and Iob, were in it, they ſhould deliver but their owne ſoules by their righteouſneſſe; they ſhall deliver neither Sonnes nor Daughters: they onely ſhall be delivered, but the Land ſhall be deſolate.* If the Sea roare and ſwell, and be ready to breake the bankes; it is not the care of one or two in repairing their bankes, that will prevent the inundation; but there muſt be a generall concurrence of all that are neare the place: So now, when God hath begun to roare from above againſt our Nation, and is ready to ſwallow us up; there muſt be a generall endeavour to ſtop the breach; otherwiſe the particular care of ſome few will not prevent the deluge of his wrath. Would we therefore remove this generall jndgement which is upon our Land, our repentance muſt be generall, as the ſinne was generall that brought the judgement? let us therefore call one another, as did the repenting *Iſraelites*, *Hoſ.* 6. 1. ſaying, *Come, and let us returne unto the Lord, for he hath torne, and he will heale us: he hath ſmitten, and he will bind us up.* And as it is, Chap. 50. 4. of this book, *let the Children of Iſrael and the Children of Iudah, come together, and weeping ſeeke the Lord.* Thus if we ſeeke him, hee will be found of us; he will yet heale our Land, and reſtore unto us the yeares which the Caterpiller hath devoured; he will give us beauty for aſhes, and the

oyle of gladneſſe, for the ſpirit of heavineſſe; hee will make the bones which he hath broken to rejoyce: which God of his infinite mercy grant, &c.

FINIS.



5

K. B. P. London

Numb. 37.

THE PARLIAMENT SCOVT:

Communicating His Intelligence TO THE KINGDOME.

From Friday the 1. of March to Friday the 8. of March, 1643

OUr Scout intends not to be large upon those things before published, as of the defeat given by our party in Yorkshire to the enemy, onely commend the Relation, and wish it all true; nor of the running away of Sir *Richard Greenvile*, onely put you in minde that our Scout hath for this moneth past intreated that how ever those that came in and tooke the Covenant were pardoned, yet that they might not be imployed, which he did not only, foreseeing that it would make many more seeming friends to the Parliament, but few cordiall

ones: What ever they may conceive of a Covenant in Scotland; the Engliſh man will ſay, I held up my hand, and ſet my name, but I thanke God I did not kiſſe the Booke.

We told you in our laſt of the Letter of the Prince Elector to the Parliament, we ſhall onely hint, that if he appears to our incouragement its a ſigne we ſhall finde more friends in the Netherlands, and fewer enemies in France; the conſideration whereof may with diſcretion put us upon ſuch demands, as may ſettle all in ſuch a way, as we may be able to befriend thoſe who ſhall be either active or paſſively ours, and who once in an age may need us, as we now them, we do not believe a ladder ſtory could come to my Lords the *Junto*.

Concerning Newarke, we are as willing to tell folke that its beſieged as any other, if we may but adde at a diſtance, otherway blockt up; we doubt not but the horſe, who are about a thouſand, and the foot, who are about four thouſand will, if no reliefe come much ſtraiten the enemy for proviſions, which in regard they are ſo numerous within, may happily bring them ſuddenly to termes of accord: as for their ſally out though they performed it well, yet they were beat back.

As for the reliefe of Glocester, the parties deſigned for that ſervice are yet at Warwicke, we wiſh they were numerous enough to advance, there is expectation of Sir *Thomas Fairfax* his comming to ioyne with them, the enemy is with five thouſand to interrupt their paſſage, having broken down all the bridges.

Whether the attempts and Alarmes in Buckinghamſhire will draw back the enemy there is great queſtion, for ſuch parties can not aſſault any great ſtrength, and for harrowing the Country that is not our deſigne, nor fit to be done: but to comfort us we underſtand Colonell *Maſſey* is in no great ſtraits, and though he could wiſh his friends with him to make him more elbow room, yet he can ſtay untill the ſeaſon is better, which will be very good for us, yet the wayes are as bad, if not worſe then any time this Winter,

Winter, and a deſigne now might ſo waſt our horſe that we might be preiudiced for all our after deſignes this Summer.

Yet by way of drawing back the enemy that valiant Colonell, Colonell *Cromwell*, and others, have done there parts, not onely in Allarauming Oxford it ſelf, but in taking Hilſeen houſe, and in it 300. men, 140. horſe, one Collonell. viz. Colonell *Smith*, or rather Colonell Brag, who ſent a Warrant to the Garriſon of Newport-pannell, commanding all from ſixteen to 60. to come and help him fortifie Hilſeen houſe, beſides the bragger, there was took, *Sir Alexander Denton*, we will not call him Sir *Alexander* Weather Cock, a Lieutenant Colonell, a Major and divers Captaines, in this deſperate aſſault againſt the houſe, Coll. *Pickring* with much courage, led up his Dragoones to the gate and in the action received an honourable ſcar upon the face. this his firſt enterpriſe gives us to think, that time will make him as able to ſerve his Country in Armes, as he is in other affairs, there were ſixty ſlain, its ſaid that divers if not all of them were put to the ſword, and were ſuch as could ſpeak no Engliſh, we are not ſure that this is true, nor hope we it is, only it is juſtifiable in the ridged way of Armes, when a place is taken by aſſault, eſpecially they being aliens, but the proverbe is, do as you would be done by.

Beſides this, another party hath ſurpriſed 120. horſe, ſaid to be a Troope of the Princes, they were taken dormant by an infall in the night. The forces of my Lord Generall draw towards Redding and thoſe parts, ſo that we ſhall do our beſt that the ſeaſon will permit to ſerch back the enemy.

The buſineſſe of my Lord Generalls Officers, was ready and tendred to the houſe on Wedneſday, but the great buſineſſe of his Majeſties Letter took up ſo much time, that it could not be proceeded in the meane time his Excellency hath proviſion of Armes and other things providing. Concerning his Maieſties Letter and the concluſion, upon it were to this effect.

This Letter was taken into serious consideration by the Lords; and after a full and ample debate, divers observations and conclusions drawne up and presented to the Commons by the noble Lord of *Essex*; one observation was, that his Majesty gives the same title to those at Oxford, and them at Westminster: whereas that at Westminster is his true Parliament, and hath been so acknowledged by himselfe, in confirming many Acts, by them presented to him: And for those at Oxford, they have deserted this Parliament, given aide severall wayes against it, and so are justly dismembered, or otherwise, as hath been proceeded against them.

His Maiesties Letter consisted first of a Title to the Members of Parliament assembled at Westminster.

The matter of the Letter is, first a bewailing of the sad condition of the Kingdom: a desire that some of the Members of Parliament at Westminster may meete with some of those at Oxford to conser upon a way to settle the true Protestant Religion, and the true Rights of the King, the Parliament and Kingdom, and also that a way might be thought upon how, and where those at Westminster, and those at Oxford may sit for the further setling a firme peace.

The Lords presented by way of Observation to the House of Commons, that that which was propounded was by the advice of the Lords and Commons assembled at Oxford, and the terms the same with that here: whereas this here is a Parliament onely, as appeares by his Majesties confirmation of severell Acts by them presented, and which must be made good, or we are all undone.

Secondly,

Secondly, that though there be in the Letter some generall words for Religion, Liberty of the Subject and Priviledge of Parliament, yet the onely expedient offered, is to treat how the Members of both houses, that is to say, those at Oxford, as well as those at Westminster, as well those that have deserted the Parliament, given aide of money and fought against the Parliament as those that yet remaine at Westminster, may securely meet in a full and free convention of Parliament, which begets this conclusion fully, that the Parliament at Westminster, is not a free and full convention without those at Oxford, in the esteeme of his Majestie, their Lordships desired the Commons house to concur in an humble Letter to his Maiestie, and in it represent that this is a free Parliament, and to intreat his Maiestie to returne to it, and to prefix a day, which if he shall not, then that they will take care to manage affaires as shall seeme most good.

And lastly, that a Declaration be published, to unmaske the people, and let them know, that the Designe, under the pretence of Peace, is to set up another Parliament, that may do nothing, nor speak nothing, but what the Court Favourites shall like; and if they do, then to be sent home, as they use to be, for these thirty years past, and committed for talking, and lie in prison seven, eight, ten yeares together.

There may be one observation added, if we may be so bold, which is, that the composing the differences in England is not now desired in the Letter, the better to prosecute against the Rebells in Ireland, and to revenge the blood of the poore Protestants, shed in so barbarous a manner, which once made the heart bleed, nor that must be forgotten, as the Gunpowder Treason was, and he that shall say the Irish are bloody Rebells shortly will be branded for a Puritane, as they were that Celebrated the fifth of November.

Thursday the Commons at a conference recommended to the Lords all the severall businesses to be transacted with the Scots Nation, in which was seene an abundance of care and pairies for the publike service, both to content the Scots here in matter of supply, according to agreement, and also for the supply of the Scots Army in Ireland, both for money and cloathes, how happy would it be if some speciall care were taken that a generall imployment might be for all sorts of people under the Parliaments power, that so they having a spring might supply both the Scots Armies and English also, and that in a cheerefull way rather out of their superfluity then penurie.

There was care to be taken in those instructions to prosecute the Covenant throughout all the three Kingdomes, which we wish may be generally received, and heartily subscribed; as for the University of Cambridge, they especially that preach at Saint *Maries*, are so farre from swearing the extirpation of Episcopacy, that they pray for Archbishops, Bishops, &c. and for the Saints departed they praise, but whether praising be a part of prayer, according to their Logick, we cannot say, but if it be, they pray for the dead over and over.

The Scots Ambassadours are returned from Oxford, we will not propheſie, but onely conjecture that they will returne as Monsieur *le Harcourt*, did, *Re infecta*.

As concerning the Scots Army and the severall encounters had with my Lord of Newcastle at Tinmouth Castle and other places, we could tell you as confident conjectures as any other, but in regard we learne not that any expresse is come any way truly, relating any matter of moment that hath past, we think it better to passe it over in silence, only with this Memorandum, That they have a Gentleman that understands what he doth, and will lose no opportunity, that will not be idle:

they

they have a good army, brave Commanders, and resolute Souldiers, and what need we trouble our selves; leave the successe to him that orders all things: it may be the walls of *Jericho* will fall downe without many stroakes, which will prevent the effusion of blood, which should be the desire of all men. That country is wasted, great bodies must have provisions and conveiance: all weathers and wayes are not alike; this is the rather put in, because all is spoyled, if somewhat be not said of the Scots Army, though nothing be said upon good ground.

We this Thursday night received from severall parts such probable information of the Scots being got over the Tine, that we do as good as believe it to be true. Some Letters make the losse great, others little, but both from the Earle of Newcastles quarters, and from our owne side, they agree that they are on the South side Tine many thousands of them.

A List of the Officers taken in *Hilsdon* house, *March* 4. 1643.

Sir *Alex. Denton* and his Brother *Colonell Smith*,
Lieut. Col. *James*,
Philip Arthur,
Major Vineon,
Capt. Lambert,
Capt. Luton,
Capt. Smith,
Cap. Spicer,
Capt. Pleawell,
~~*Lieu. Grifith*~~,
Lieut. Harcott,
Lieut. Livenmore,
Cornet Stocki,
Cornet Spicer,
Cornet Eveck,
4 Quarter Masters to a Regiment,
4 Other Quarter-masters,
4 *Ensignes*,
7 *Serjants*,
5 *Drummes*,
173 *Souldiers*,
41 *Killed*,
4 *Corporals of Horse*.
1 *Trumpeter*,
5 *Corporals of Foot*,
1 *Priest*,
About an hundred Horse,

Printed according to Order for Robert White.

Be Wise as Serpents, Innocent as Doves.

THE

SCOTISH DOVE,

Sent out, and Returning;

Bringing Intelligence from the Armies, and makes some Relations of other observable Passages of both Kingdoms, for Information and Instruction.

From Friday the 1. of March, to Fryday the 8. 1643

FOr the Intelligence of this weeke our Dove brings relation of what hath hapned, and by some former instances shewes what may be: The first thing considerable is the Treachery of Sir *Richard Grinfield*: who on the Lords day last, having two or three dayes before received some hundreds of pounds of the *Hampt-*

ſhire mens money, perfidiouſly departed, and with about 14. ſwift courſers, rode to *Oxford*, and ſo to th' devill together: *well rode gentleman*; but this Gentleman was a Corniſh Knight, and an Iriſh *Souldiour*, our new Iriſh Souldiers have old Iriſh trickes; the next moneth new Hempe will be ſowed in the Weſt: *O fine Greene-field*; the fawning Wolfe grinned on his prey, and treacherouſly ſeized it: he moſt injuriouſly tooke the ſolemne Covenant, and moſt diſhonourably broke his oath with God and men: the taking of the Covenant wrought with him, like as the ſop which *Judas* received, with which Satan entred into him, and carried him headlong to his owne perdition: this *Grenfield* while he was in *Ireland* ſeemed to fight for the Defence of the Proteſtant Religion, *but gold was his god*; and when (to the eye of ſenſe) he perceived that the advance of another Religion, was the firſt ſtep to new honours; he unnaturally turned about, waved the Proteſtant cauſe, and preferred the Popiſh deſigne; he had by plundring in *Ireland* gotten much wealth, and (as I am informed) it was comming into *England* in a ſhip which was taken by ſome of *Briſtoll* ſhips, and now to ſecure that, he gave his ſoule to the Devill: God will in his time diſcover all hypocrites, and will not honour them to have a hand in the accompliſhment of his worke: it is well hee's gone, (*better loſt than found*) if he had ſtaid but a little longer, he might have done a great deale more miſchiefe: farewell *Grenfield*, *every dog ſhall have his day*.

There was one Captaine *Walker* a Captaine under the Earle of *Mancheſter*, and quartered in *Bedfordſhire*: this *Walker* had a deſire laſt weeke to be walking to *Oxford*, but he would lead his horſe in his hand: and to that end, he was contriving (as he had before contracted) to carry his whole troope to *Oxford*, but before he could accompliſh his deſigne, providence diſcovered him, his Troope is ſafe where it ſhould be, himſelf may be hanged ſhortly.

Such is the Implacable mallice of the Antichriſtian brood, reſtleſſe ſpirits, continually plotting and acting treaſons to hinder the worke of reformation, and to reſiſt the truth of God, betray their Countries and poſteritie, yea Chriſt himſelf: It is the greateſt diſhonour that can be to a man to betray his Country, ſuch a man was abhorred by the heathen: and him that was perfidious to his God, and to his religion and lawes, was by all Ethnickes accounted not worthy to live, nor to dye a common death: but how much more are ſuch men to be abhorred by Chriſtians: and thoſe men are indeed to be abhominated, who profeſſe themſelves to be Chriſtians, and yet either maliciouſly

liciously, or cowardly betrayed (not onely their County but) their God, Christ Jesus, who hath suffered unsufferable torments for their offences.

The heathen meerely by natures Light, were taught to honour their supposed gods and their Religion, so much as that they spared not their owne lives, nor the lives of their children, to offer them in sacrifice, rather then to violate or infringe any duty or service to them. We read of *Calanus* an Indian, when he had strictly and carefully observed all duties, all his dayes to his gods; in his old age (taking his leave of his friends) he sacrificed himself, as being unable to do any more service to the gods. The Jewes (a revolting people, yet) so zealous for their religion and lawes, that even when they were under the *Romans* Command, in servile subjection: and that *Caesar* Commanded *Petronius* to set up his Image in the Temple, they would not endure it, but rather exposed themselves, their lives, and all theirs, to *Caesars* mercy, offering their throats to the sword: saying, *we will rather dye then turne from the Lawes of our God.*

And for the love that the Ancients have born to their Country, they suffered any thing, counted all losse to themselves, that was not for the good of the publike. *Themistocles* being unjustly banished from his own Country *Athens*, he fled to the King of *Persia*, and found great favour of him, so that he promised ever to imploy himself in his service; but when there grew a war between the King of *Persia* and the *Athenians*, *Themistocles* was appointed chiefe Commander against his owne Country, by which meanes he had power to avenge himselfe for his false banishment: but he refused the charge, rather choosing to be his own Executioner, then to fight against his Country. *Lycurgus*, when he had established his Lawes among the *Lacedemonians*, faining to go to aske some councell at *Apollo*; caused all the people to sweare to keepe all those good Lawes inviolable, till he returned either alive or dead; which done, he suffered voluntary banishment (for his Countries good) all the dayes of his life; and least his body should be carried back when he was dead, he appointed that his body should be wholy burnt to ashes, and the ashes to be dispersed by the wind in the ayre, that so the people might never be discharged of their oath, but that his Country might ever enjoy the benefit of his labours, and their good Lawes. *Marcus Otho* the Emperour being opposed by *Vitilia*, rather chose to fall upon his own sword, then Imbroyle his Country in a Civill War. *Codrus*,

King of *Athens*, gave himself willingly to be slain by the *Thracians* his enemies, to save his Countrey. Examples in Historie are obvious, of men sacrificing their lives for the good of their Countrey; therefore the Poet could say:

It was a sweet and noble gain,
In Countries quarrell to be slain.

Oh! that men would consider it, and that our revolters would return and cease to destroy; but rather labour to save theis Countrey, their Lawes, their Religion, and become honest men; if but as naturlly good, as the Heathen, that their Posterities may receive good, and honour by their fathers vertues, and not be blemished and branded in after Ages with their Fathers vices.

The Lord *Paget* is come to *Warwick-castle*, and submits himself (as by letters, I am informed) many of quality are of late come in, and are willing to cast themselves on the Parliaments mercie; hee goes far that never turnes, *Nunquam sera ad bonus mores via.*

The relation which our *Dove* made last week of the good successe in the *West-riding* of *Yorkeshiere* is certainly confirmed; only there was a mistake of the person, for it was not Sir *John Meldrum*, but Captain *Lambert*, who came from *Manchester*, and since they tooke those townes: Colonell *Bellises* with a considerable strength, came from *Yorke*, with purpose to fall upon *Bradford*, but our men, though with much lesse nstregth, met the enemy in the field, and routed them, slew divers, and tooke divers prisoners, the rest retreated.

On *Munday* the House of Commons agreed upon reasons to send up to the Lords, why the Lords should passe their vote, and agree with the Commons about the Oath of Secresie, to be given to the Secret Councell of State, but before they sent it, the Lords were riser.

The Archbishop of *Canterbury* is appointed to come to his triall on *Tuesday* next, being the 12. day of *March*, till when we say no more.

On *Tuesday* the House of Commons sent up the Reasons why the Oath of Secresie should passe, and afterwards both Houses had a conference; The Commons urged the thing, and severall particulars passed, which for my part, I conceive not fit to publish. The Lords took all into consideration, afterwards we shall heare more of it.

On *Munday* in the evening, a Trumpeter came from *Oxford*, and brought a letter from the Earle of *Forth*, sealed with the Kings Seal, and with the Letters *C. R.* within and without: The superscription of the Letter was, *To the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled*

at

at Weſtminſter: when this Letter was brought to the Lords, the ſuperſcription was ſome cauſe of debate, and ſome ſaid, *pro & con*, whence grew a queſtion, whether this Letter ſhould be opened or not, and on *Tueſday* in conference between both Houſes a Committee was appointed to conſider of the thing for opening, &c.

There was Intelligence that Collonell *Maſſey* had taken ſome Horſe, but alſo upon another attempt againſt Sir *John Winters* troops, in which attempt that gallant Colonell was very adventurous, having ſmall ſtrength to make good his attempt, (though the enemy were not ſtrong) himſelf leading up his troope in the face of the enemy, the reines of his bridle broke, and his horſe ran in upon the enemy, ſo that he was laid hold of as their priſoner, but his Quartermaſter bravely (though before not conceived to be ſo valiant) rode up to him, and after him two or three more. This Quartermaſter ſhot him that had hold of the Colonell, and ſo reſcued him, and they came all off bravely, (*Gods providence.*)

Wee had Intelligence of 5. or 600. of *Iriſh* that were drowned, coming over from *Ireland* to *Cheſter*, ſome report them to be 8. or 900. the thing is a truth, though we may vary in number; another *piece of ſpeciall providence.*

And that we might clearly ſee Gods hand, and not attribute theſe things to chance, God ſends us hourly teſtimonies, not only of his power, but of his eſpeciall providence and mercie: certain Intelligence was brought to the Houſes of the ſucceſſe at *Newarke*, againſt which Sir *John Meldrum* drew up his forces; but by a partee that ſallied out of the town, and came very ſuddenly upon his Regiment, himſelfe leading them, he was forced to retreat, and by the enemies advantage againſt him, his retreat was with ſome diſorder, and ſome of his men were taken priſoners, but the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham* bravely drew up his Regiment, and fell upon the enemy, tooke divers priſoners, reſcued the priſoners that the enemy had taken, and took one piece of Ordnance, and an out-worke, and drove the enemy into the town, whether *Newark* be beſieged cloſe or not, is uncertain, for the deſigne is as well againſt *Doncaſter* as *Newarke*, and whether they now beſiege *Newarke*, or only face it, till *Doncaſter* be taken, wee ſhall heare more ſhortly.

There is a Letter ſent from the Miniſters of *Zealand*, to our Learned Aſſembly at *Weſtminſter*, wherein they commend our Aſſemblies care for the Church-government, and declare to them (becauſe ſome of the Independants have ſaid they approve that way of Government) that

that they approve it not, nor have ever given any toleration or allowance to it, but as they have done to all others, and as they do to the *Iewes*, &c.

There was a discovery of 900.l' in gold that was conveyed and hid in a Chamber-pot, within a common Tipling-house in *Graiſe-Inn Lane*, and was the money of one who is in actuall armes against the Parliament, this will recrute the losse we sustained by the *Grinfield* Judas.

I must not omit to send you the relation of the brave exployt done by Colonel *Crumwell* and some others, (who were upon their march toward *Warwicke* to gard the ammunition to *Gloceſter*,) they came to *Hilſden Houſe*, the house of Sir *Alexander Dynton*, which house not long since was taken by the Parliaments Forces, and 200. prisoners in it. There was now in it, Sir *Alexander Dynton* himself, and Colonel *Smith*, one who told the Countrey not long since, that they should not plow, nor sow, but get their bread by the sword from the *Roundheads*; both these are now taken in that house, and divers other of quallity, and 300. souldiers, all taken and slain, Colonel *Crumwel* storm'd the house, and tooke it, in lesse then an hours space: hee offered them quarter, which some accepted, but as he was entring the house, new resistance was made, and two of Colonel *Crumwels* men were slain, for which the Colonel gave his souldiers liberty to put them to the sword that were refractory: and there were in the house many *Walloones* and *French*, of which they slew in the house (as is certified) above fourscore, *let them thanke themselves, I will thanke God.*

Some reports have been very frequent, that the *Scotch* forces have taken a Regiment of the Earle of *Newcaſtles* horse; but I believe it as a report, and finde no ground of truth in it.

On *Wednesday* the Letter received from *Oxford* was opened, and both Houses had conference concerning it; The contents whereof was to this effect, *viz.* That they would appoint a convenient place and time, and fit men of both Houses to meet with the Lords and Commons of *Oxford*, to treat and consult about the settling of the Peace of the Kingdome; *they did not say, to treat to betray the Kingdome*, what they mean, I can think.

The businesse at the conference concerning it, was in effect thus: The Lords by the mouth of his Excellencie the Earle of *Essex* (about 17. of them being there present) desired that the Commons would joyne with them, to draw up a Letter to the King from both Houses

of

of Parliament, in all humility to intreate his Majeſtie to come to his Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, within a ſhort time, & there to treate with both Houſes, aſſuring him with ſafety, and all humble acceptance; and further they deſired that a Declaration might be drawn up, and publiſhed by both Houſes to the whole Kingdome, to manifeſt their hearty and meſt humble deſires of peace to the Kingdome, and preſervation and honour to the King: The Commons were exceeding well ſatisfied in the Lords deſires, and have unanimouſly conſented: *a holy unity will procure a heavenly bleſſing.*

Since the taking of *Hilſdale* Houſe, we have intelligence of the taking the Princes Troope, who were come to Quarter at *Adderbury* two miles from *Banbury*; ſome report that this exploit was done by *Colonell Cromwell*, but it was done by a party of horſe ſent from *Warwick*, under the command of Serjeant Major *Pont*, and Captain *Hauke ſworth*, who came upon them in the night and ſurprized the whole Troope, Horſe and Men: the number of the Troope are ſaid to be foure ſcore, but the certaine number I will not affirme, let them be more or leſſe, they were all taken and carryed to *Warwick*: but about the mid-way they were purſued from *Banbury*, inſomuch that while one part of our men went before with the Priſoners, the other were appointed to gard the Reere, and neere *Keynton*, where the great battle was fought, *Captaine Haukeſworth* faced about, and charged the purſuers: but eſpying more comming, he retreated into *Chadſhunt* Church: the enemie fearing to make ſtay, it being but ſix miles from *Warwick* (and the Priſoners being carried before, whoſe convoy would ſend aid) they ſet fire of the Town, and rode away, but by Gods mercy, with little helpe the fire was ſtaved: two or three houſes was burnt, and ſome rickes of Corne, and Hay, and the reſt preſerved; in all this we can ſee nothing but mercy from heaven, let God have the praiſe of all.

The Carriſons of *Poole*, and *Warham*, have beaten up the Lord *Inchiqueens* Regiment, and taken divers priſoners, and foure peeces of Ordnance: ſome affirme they tooke 6. Waggons of Ammunition which came from *Waymouth*: God ſend them more, and the enemy leſſe, and we ſhall then hope for peace.

For the Scotch Army I am ſorry I cannot ſay more at this returne of our Dove, than I told you the laſt time, that they were come over *Tyne*, and in *Durham*, &c. and ſo it was (by thoſe who came thence) reported: but I finde the affections of good men, are ſwifter then their Armies can March: affections breake through, where Armies

make

make a ſtop: neither fire, water; nor powers, can hinder the affections, but either may ſtop an Army. We againe heare intelligence (and that by letters) that the Army is over *Tyne*, but was not till the firſt or ſecond of *March*; and that there hath been ſtrong oppoſition at the paſſage over the River, and they have had ſeverall skirmiſhes, but with little loſſe; therefore *Aulicus* at *Oxford* lyes in Preſſe and Print; and his friends at *Ely* Houſe in their throats; who have publiſhed and reported that the Scots have loſt great numbers, and were marching backe towards *Scotland*. Our Dove hath formerly adviſed not to put confidence in the ſtrength of *Scotland*, nor in no Arme of fleſh, but in God whoſe cauſe and quarrell this is, diffidence in God, and confidence in men or Armies, may cauſe good Armies in the beſt cauſe, to be unſucceſſefull, look up to God, give thankes to him for them, God alone gives victorie: *he is the God of Hoſts*, the chiefe Commander of all Armies, the Scotch are but his ſouldiers, yet without aſcribing any thing to them, I will beleeve that God hath a purpoſe to honour them in this worke of our deliverance: and I will looke upon them as Gods inſtruments, which he is now fitting for that worke; great workes are not done without great difficulties, and great difficulties beget great praiſe and thankfulneſſe to Gods glory.

The Earle of *Lowden* is evey day expected here, and I would not have any of Gods people doubt, but that we ſhall heare great good newes from thoſe parts ſhortly: onely remember God hath called us to enter into a Covenant with him, into which we have entred; let us now haſten the bleſſing annexed, by ſeeking God, and the bleſſing will come faſter then we can looke for it.

The States Ambaſſadors came yeſterday to Town from *Oxford*, and I beleeve nothing to the contrary, but they intend really: and ſeeke the peace of this Kingdome, but I long for manifeſtations of their reallity by Actions, which I will not queſtion.

Printed according to Order for *L. C.*

CHILLINGWORTHI NOVISSIMA.

OR, THE

Sickneſſe, Hereſy, Death, and Buriall

OF

WILLIAM CHILLINGWORTH.

(In his own phraſe) *Clerk of Oxford*, and in the conceit of his fellow Souldiers, the *Queens Arch-Engineer*, and *Grand-Intelligencer*.

SET FORTH IN

A *Letter* to his Eminent and learned Friends, a *Relation* of his Apprehenſion at *Arundell*, a *Diſcovery* of his Errours in a *Briefe Catechiſm*, and a ſhort *Oration* at the Buriall of his Hereticall Book.

By FRANCIS CHEYNELL, late Fellow of MERTON Colledge.

Publiſhed by Authority.

March 8 LONDON,
Printed for SAMUEL GELLIBRAND, at the Brazen Serpent in Pauls Church-yard, 1644. 1643

TO

THE LEARNED AND EMINENT FRIENDS OF Mr CHILLINGWORTH,

And in particular

TO

Sir JOHN CULPEPPER, Knight,

Doctor{ JOHN PRIDEAUX Bishop of Worcester,
FELL Deane of Christ-Church,
BAYLY Deane of Sarum,
SHELDEN Warden of All-soules,
POTTER Provost of Queenes, and
MORLEY Canon of Christ-Church.

SIRS,

YOur deceased friend is not yet speechlesse, he calls upon you to beware and repent; some preach more, at least more practically, when they are dead, then ever they did whilst they were alive. You that were his Patrons and Encouragers, as hee acknowledged ever, when he was in the heigth of his Rebellion, doe you beware left a worse thing come unto you. You that were the Licensers of his subtile Atheisme, Repent, Repent; for he Dr. Bayly, Dr. Prideaux, Dr. Fell.

was ſo hardened by your flattery, that (for ought the moſt charitable man can judge) hee periſhed by your Approbation: he ever appealed to his works even to his very dying day, and what was it, which made him dote upon them, but your Licence and Approbation? Heark what hee ſaith, The third and laſt part of my Accuſation was, That I anſwer out of principles, which Proteſtants themſelves will profeſſe to deteſt: *which indeed were to the purpoſe, if it could be juſtified. But beſides* that, it is confuted by my whole Book, and made ridiculous by the Approbation premiſed unto it, &c. *read Mr* Chillingworth *his Preface to the Author of Charity &c. Sect.* 30. *Sure I am, that the Accuſation may bee juſtified, and therefore is to the purpoſe; but the Approbation cannot bee juſtified, and is therefore juſtly Reprobated: The Accuſation is ſo ſerious, that the Approbation cannot make it (but may well make the Approvers and their Church) ridiculous. O what a ridiculous Church doe the Licenſers make the Church of* England *to be, by ſaying that there is nothing in Mr* Chillingworth *his Book contrary to the doctrine of the Church of* England; *ſure they meant the Church of* Canterbury. *But Dr* Fell, *and Dr* Bayly *are not aſhamed to ſay, that there is nothing in that Book contrary to good manners, which Dr* Prideaux *would not ſay; but enough of that.*

Sirs, the following Hiſtory will teſtifie my compaſſion towards your deceaſed friend, whom I ever oppoſed in a charitable and friendly way. *I doe not account it any glory to trample upon the carkaſſe of* Hector, *or to pluck a dead Lion by the beard; ſhould I miſquote his Book, and make that errour mine owne by a falſe citation, which I pretend to be his in an Accuſation, you that were the unhappy Licencers of his Book would ſoone take me tripping. If you conceive that he deſerved a more Honourable buriall, bee pleaſed to anſwer my Reaſons, and patronize his errours with all the learning* Bodleyes Library can afford: *or elſe ſtudy* his Catechiſme, *pardon my boldneſſe, ſome Courtiers never learnt, and ſome Doctours have forgot their Catechiſme, or elſe this man we ſpeak of had never beene ſo much admired, his Book extolled, or theſe Antichriſtian warres*

Νεκρῷ σῶμα λέοντος ἰφι ξύσαι λαγωοί.

fomented

fomented by ſuch great Clerks and buſie wits.

I looked upon Mr Chillingworth *as one who had his head as full of Scruples as it was of Engines, and therefore dealt as tenderly with him as I uſe to doe with men of the moſt nice and tender conſciences: for I conſidered, that though Beefe muſt bee preſerved with ſalt; yet Plums muſt be preſerved with ſugar. I can aſſure you I ſtooped as low to him as I could without falling, and you know he is not a wiſe man in the judgement of the Philoſopher, who ſtoops ſo low to another mans weakneſſe, that he himſelfe falls into weakneſſe: and it is a Rule with us at* Weſtminſter, *that* he falls into weakneſſe who falls into ſinne.

Doe not conceive that I ſnacht up my pen in an angry mood, that I might vent my dangerous wit, and eaſe my overburthened ſpleene. No, no, I have almoſt forgot the Viſitation at Merton Colledge, the Deniall of my Grace, the plundering of my houſe and little Library: *I know when and where and of whom to demand ſatisfaction for all theſe injuries and indignities. I have learnt* Centum plagas Spartanâ Nobilitate concoquere. *I have not yet learnt how to plunder others of goods or living, and make my ſelfe amends by force of armes. I will not take a living which belonged to any civill, ſtudious, learned Delinquent, unleſſe it be the much neglected* Commendam *of ſome Lordly Prelate condemned by the knowne Lawes of the Land, and the higheſt Court of the Kingdome for ſome offence of the firſt magnitude: I can, without ſtraining my conſcience, ſwallow ſuch a gnat, a camel I ſhould ſay, for every one of their* Commendams *hath a bunch upon its back, and may well make a bunch upon their conſcience. I ſhall not trouble you with any long diſcourſe about State matters, only you will give me leave to ſay what the* Lacedemonian *ſlave ſaid, when he ſtood to be ſold in the market; and one asked him what he was?* I am *(ſaith he)* a Free man, *and ſo am* I, *for though* I *have not taken* Antidotum contra Cæſarem, *yet I have taken* Antidotum contra Tyrannidem. *I could never yet ſtoop ſo low to the moſt tyrannicall Prelate as to cry* Your humble Slave. ἐλεύθερος εἰμι.

Sirs, we heare you have made a New Almanack *at* Oxford;

and ſome conceive that you hold correſpondence with all the ſowre Planets, *and that you have enticed the truſty* Sunne *from his Ecliptick line, and taught him to goe Retrograde. We wonder,* I *muſt tell you, that the Sunne never came into* Libra, *that Opinions, Proteſtations, Actions were ſeldome or never* weighed *in the ballance of the Sanctuary: and we wondered more, that* Venus (I *had almoſt forgot my Aſtronomy, and ſaid* Iuno) *was ſhufled into* Virgo's *place, and the ſigne was in the* Dogs head, *when we did expect it in a more propitious place, the* Lions heart. I *remember that of* Tertullian, Habet & Eccleſia dies Caniculares, *the Church of Chriſt hath cauſe to complaine of* Dog dayes; *for the Dog doth not only ſhew his teeth; we heare him bark and feele him bite; we may in every month write the Dog dayes in capitall letters, nay you write them for us (ſo capitall are your crimes) in letters of blood. What is* England *become a Wilderneſſe? if it be not, why are ſo many wilde beaſts ſuffered to goe looſe and prey upon the zealous Proteſtants? for ſhame chaine up thoſe beaſts before the firſt of* March: *if ſhame work not, feare may, the ſame feare which falls upon the men of* Northumberland, *the feare of a Scottiſh Reformation*: I *will not liſten at the doore of your* Iunto *to heare what newes, nor will* I *peepe into your* pretended Parliament, *no nor into* Merton Colledge, *for feare* I *ſhould ſee ſome ſights like thoſe in the eighth of* Ezekiel, *ſome with their* backs towards the Temple of the Lord, and their faces towards the Eaſt; *and if* I *ſhould look farther, one that is no Prophet tells me, that* I *may ſee greater abominations then theſe. Sir,* I *beſeech you keepe downe your ſtaffe: but if you will hold it up, as* Eurybiades *did,* I *muſt cry as* Themiſtocles *did,* πάταξον μὲν ἄκουσον δέ, *ſtrike if you pleaſe; yet heare me, or at leaſt heare what the Prophet ſaith to me, doth he not ſpeak of you?* Then hee ſaid unto me, Haſt thou ſeene this O ſonne of man. Is it a light thing to the houſe of Iudah, that they commit the abominations which they commit here? for they have filled the Land with violence, and have returned to provoke me to anger: and lo they put their branch to their noſe. Therefore—— *read and tremble at the reſt. Come, come away*

Ezek. 8. 16.

Ezek. 8. 17, 18.

away with this learned Atheiſme, your Iudge looks upon you, the ſearcher of hearts and diſcoverer of ſecrets is acquainted with all your plots. The Lord ſees what the Ancients of Oxford *doe in the dark, every man in the chambers of his imagery: the Lord heares what you ſay —— O doe not ſay as the Ancients of* Iſrael *ſaid,* The Lord ſeeth us not, the Lord hath forſaken the earth. I *am afraid that you have the ſame temptations at* Oxford, *which were preſented to* Origen, *an* Ethiopian woman, and an Idoll; *he was (you know) put to this unhappy choice, to commit folly with which he pleaſed. Some luſt as much after idols, as others doe after women; if in theſe dayes of liberty you reſtraine from neither, you doe in effect tempt to both, and are the grand ſeducers of the hopefull Gentry: but alaſſe you are guilty of a more ambitious wickedneſſe, it is your ſtudy to ſeduce a King.*

I remember an old ſtory of King Canutus, *who (as the Chronicler relates) took off the Crowne from his owne head, and ſet it upon the Crucifixe at* Weſtminſter: *But tell me (you that have read ſome Italian Jeſuite more ſubtile then the Politicians* Saint, *Saint* Machiavel) *doe you conceive that you can perſwade our King to take off his Crowne from his owne head, and place it upon your idoll* the Queene, *or her idoll* the Crucifixe, at Oxford? *We have none at* Weſtminſter. *Well, plot on my Maſters, and walke in the light and warmth of that fire which you have kindled; but heare what the Prophet ſaith,* Behold all you that kindle a fire, and compaſſe about your ſelves with ſparkes, walke in the light of your fire, and in the ſparks which you have kindled; This ſhall ye have of mine hand, ye ſhall lay downe in ſorrow. *Pardon our juſt feare, if we dare not ſay a* confederacy *to all thoſe* Welch Atheiſts, Iriſh Rebels, bloudy Papiſts *of the* French *or* Spaniſh faction, *to whom you ſay,* A confederacy; Aſſociate your ſelves together *(you know what followes)* take counſell together *(in your pretended Parliament)* and it will be brought to nought, *enact and pronounce a decree,* imagine miſchiefe as a Law, yet you ſhall not proſper, for God is with us. *I know you urge the* 13 *to the Romanes, to juſtifie your royall cruelty; but you know what* Chryſoſtome, *and many others, have*

*Iſa.*50.*ult.*

*Iſa.*8.9,10.

ſaid upon that place: But I ſhall onely aske you one queſtion (with which I ſtopped your friend Chillingworths *mouth) be pleaſed to anſwere it: Doe you beleeve that Tyrannie is Gods ordinance? I ever held it a violation of Gods ordinance: and whether the ſupreme* Judicatory *of the Kingdome may not repell that force with force, which would violate Gods ordinance, judge ye; for it is abſurd to talke, as Doctor* Ferne *doth, of a morall reſtraint in ſuch a caſe. Sure I am, the Parliament hath power to raiſe an Army to preſerve* Gods ordinance *inviolable, when it cannot be preſerved by any other meanes: They doe certainly reſiſt Gods ordinance who ſeeke to violate it; You endevour to violate it, We to preſerve it; who is in the fault?*

Vbi jus humanum, naturale vel divinum, arma expere jubet, ibi juris autoritas intervenit, etiamſi expreſſa voluntas principis non accedat. *Biel. 4. Sent. q. 4.*

I have examined your great Champion Doctor Ferne *his three bookes, and cannot finde any thing in them, whereby the conſcience of an impartiall Scholar may be fully reſolved or ſatisfied. It is very impertinent, in my weake judgement, to talke of the priviledges of the Kings of* Judah, *who were immediately elected by God; or to diſcourſe of the power of the Romane Emperour, or the firſt draughts of Government in the* Saxon *and* Norman *lines; for Doctor* Ferne *doth acknowledge* that it is not injurious to his Majeſties poſterity, that the King ſweares to a limited power, a power limited by priviledges and immunities, granted, or reſtored to the people ſince the conqueſt; *which priviledges grants, libertues, though not originall, yet are they irrevocable. Doctor* Ferne *diſtinguiſhes betweene the* Title *of the King, and the* Power *of the King; but wee did never ſo much as once queſtion his Majeſties Title, whether it be limited or no? It is confeſſed that his power, and therefore much more the exerciſe of his power, is limited by the Priviledges of the Parliament, the immunities of the Subject, and the Kings owne oath: Nay, it is acknowledged that the two houſes of Parliament are in a ſort* co-ordinate with his Majeſty, to ſome act or exerciſing of the ſupreme power, by a fundamentall conſtitution. *Truely here is, in my judgement, ſo much granted, that the reſt need not be diſputed. But what if theſe powers be divided, and claſh one againſt the other? why then the power is not fully in King or Parliament, for the power which is in the three Eſtates is ſuſpended, whileſt one part ſuſpends:*

Dr Ferne his 2. book p. 33.

Dr Ferne ib. p. 27

Dr Ferne 2. book p. 6.

ſuſpends: So Doctor Ferne. *Give me leave to aske him, and you, whether the power of the* Militia *be not in the three Eſtates, as well as the power of making Lawes? if it be not, then ſure the power of making Lawes is to no purpoſe, becauſe they have no power to defend or enforce Law: and if the power of the* Militia *be in the three Eſtates, then the Kings power of levying, arming men, &c. is ſuſpended by the ſeverall Ordinances of Parliament; for it is Doctor* Fernes *concluſion, that the power which is in the three Eſtates is ſuſpended whileſt one part ſuſpends*; Ergo, *much more if two Eſtates ſuſpend.* Book 2. p. 34.

But on the other ſide, I *deſire Doctor* Ferne *to ſhew how the Kingdome is ſecured by the government of three Eſtates, if the two houſes of Parliament have not ſufficient power to preſerve the King and the Kingdome, in caſe the King refuſe to preſerve it or him.* It is unreaſonable (*ſaith Doctor* Ferne) that the ſupply ſelfe Book 2. p 28. ſhould be made by the body onely, without the head: *nay rather,* Doctor, *it is unreaſonable for the Head to neglect the preſervation of it ſelfe, and the body; but it is very reaſonable for to lift up both armes, to defend the head, and the whole body; and therefore reaſonable for both houſes to take up armes, and lift up their armes, put forth their whole ſtrength to defend the King and themſelves. Doctor* Ferne *talkes of a Fundamentall conſtitution,* Book 2. pag. 6. *which hath provided this* temper of three Eſtates, as the reaſonable meanes of our ſafety. *But* I *muſt confeſſe, that it cannot enter into my dull pate to conceive, that our Government is of any ſetled temper; or that we have any reaſonable meanes provided for the ſafety of this Kingdome, by that fundamentall conſtitution, if the King may doe what he pleaſes, ſeize on our goods, ('tis Doctor* Fernes *ſuppoſition) impriſon our perſons, kill us outright, and (which is worſe) overthrow our Lawes, our liberties, our Religion, and all at once, and by conſequence enſlave not onely the bodies, but the conſciences of our poſterity; and there is no more power in both houſes of Parliament to protect us by force againſt force, then if we had no ſuch remedy provided, as the government of three Eſtates. Are we not ſubjected to an abſolute Monarch, if the other two Eſtates have no legall power to releeve our neglected or oppreſſed Common-wealth? how are we* ſecured *by the*

temper

temper of three Eſtates? or how can it be called a temper? *or a temper of* three *Eſtates? if the firſt of the three may oppreſſe us, and the other two have no power to releeve us? Sure* I *am, that by this account there is but one Eſtate that hath a true power, and therfore that Eſtate muſt be an eſtate of abſolute Monarchy, which* Dr Ferne *himſelfe ſeemes to abhorre; and yet ſo vaine is that Doctor, as to call the Power of Supply legally placed in both Houſes of Parliament, a Conceit, nay a vaine Conceit; his words are theſe;* The Conceit of Supply by the two Houſes
2 Book p.18. in caſe the King refuſe (*to preſerve the Kingdome*) is a vaine Conceit: *and if that be true, then* I *muſt conclude, that this proviſion of a Temper of three Eſtates is no Temper, no proviſion, two of the Eſtates are no Eſtates; or elſe this proviſion is in the phraſe of Doctor* Ferne, *a* lame proviſion,
Ib. ubi ſupra. which argues the firſt contrivement of our Anceſtors very inconſiderate; *becauſe then it followes, that there is no* Reaſonable Meane *of ſafety provided for this Kingdome by that Fundamentall Conſtitution which provided this* Temper of
2 Book p.16. three *Eſtates, ſo the Doctor loves to call it, though he make one Eſtate ſo predominant, that as there is no* Temperamentum ad pondus, *ſo there will bee no* Temperamentum ad juſtitiam *neither by his conceit. How ſay you* Sir John, *are not you of my perſwaſion, or are you aſhamed to tread in the ſteppes of your* learned Countrey-man? *The Lord open your eyes, and cleare your eye-ſight; you are naturally ſharp-ſighted, but if your eye look red or yellow, you know your diſeaſe by the ſymptome.* It *ſhall be my prayer, that your eye may neither be dimme nor blood-ſhotten.*

Iudg. 9. 24. *Conſider that the blood of the* 70 *was laid upon* Abimelech *their brother who ſlew them, and upon the men of* Shechem, *which had ayded him by ſtrengthning his hands to kill his brethren. Whether you have ſtrengthned their hands who ſlew their Brethren, only for being too zealous in the maintenance of that Religion which you profeſſe, I appeale to God, your Conſcience, and the evidence of the fact. If you have dealt truly and ſincerely with this* * *Reforming Parliament, nay with your owne party, rejoyce and flatter your ſelves with*

* Ac ne maledicis verborum in eos uti conviciis arguamur cauſam perditionis publicæ ne cuiquam ignota ſit non tacemus, *Hilar. contra Arian p.* 214

with hope of a desired ſucceſſe; but if not, then take heed the curſe of Iotham *doe not fall upon you: there may be an evill ſpirit ſent between the* Iriſh *and* Engliſh, *the* French *and* Spaniſh *factions; nay, fire may come out from the* Queen *and conſume the* Prelates, *and fire from the* Prelates *and conſume the* Papiſts; *or elſe there may come a fire from the* North, *a fire to purge and refine, not to deſtroy; which is my prayer, and will be your happineſſe.* Iudg. 9. 19. 20, 23 and 57 verſes.

I will not hold you any longer upon the racke: Learne the firſt leſſon of Chriſtianity, Self-deniall; *deny your owne will, and ſubmit your ſelves to Gods; deny your reaſon, and ſubmit to faith: Reaſon tells you that there are ſome things above reaſon, and you cannot be ſo unreaſonable as to make reaſon judge of thoſe things which are above reaſon: Remember that Maſter* Chillingworth *(your friend) did runne mad with reaſon, and ſo loſt his reaſon and religion both at once: hee thought he might truſt his reaſon in the higheſt points; his reaſon was to be Iudge, whether or no there be a God? Whether that God wrote any Booke? Whether the bookes uſually received as Canonicall be the bookes, the Scriptures of God? What is the ſenſe of thoſe books? What Religion is beſt? What Church pureſt? Come, doe not wrangle, but beleeve, and obey your God, and then I ſhall be encouraged to ſubſcribe my ſelfe*

Your Friend and Servant,

FRANCIS CHEYNELL.

A briefe and plaine *Relation* of Mr *Chillingworths* Sickneſſe, Death, and Buriall: together with a juſt Cenſure of his *works*, by a Diſcovery of his Errours collected out of his Book, and framed into a kinde of *Atheiſticall Catechiſme*, fit for *Racovia* or *Cracovia*:

And may well ſerve for the inſtruction of the *Iriſh*, *Welch*, *Dutch*, *French*, *Spaniſh* Army in *England*, and eſpecially for the *Black Regiment* at *Oxford*.

I Am very religious in obſerving that old proverbe, if it be taken in its right ſenſe, *Nothing is to be ſpoken of the dead but good*. If that be true which *Quintilian* ſaith, *adverſus miſeros* (I may better ſay *adverſus mortuos inhumanus eſt jocus*; that man is void of humanity who makes ſport with the dead. Mr *Chillingworth* was looked upon by me at the firſt ſight as a conquered man, and therefore I was not only *civill*, but (as he confeſſed) *charitable* unto him: and now he is dead, I cannot deale with him as [a] *Aſinius Pollio* did with *Plancus*, ſet forth

[a] *Nec Plancus illepidè, cum diceretur Aſinius Pollio orationes in eum parare quæ poſt mortem Planci ederentur ne reſpondere poſſet, cum mortuis non niſi larvas luctari; quo apud eruditos nihil impudentius judicatur.* Plin. Præfat. Hiſt. Natural.

an

an Oration to which no anſwer is to be expected, unleſſe according to the deſire of *Saul* or *Dives*, a meſſenger ſhould ariſe from the dead to give me an anſwer as full of terrour as ſatisfaction. It is no glory to triumph over one that is conquered, nay dead; for that of the Poet is true,

Nullum cum victis certamen & aethere caſſis.*

* *Scilicet eſſe oportet.*

But I conſider, that Mr *Chillingworths* party is alive, though he be dead; and though one of his Books is buried, there are many hundred Copies divulged; and therefore though I ſpeak not of his humane frailties, or perſonall infirmities, and imperfections, which died with him; yet I may ſpeak of his Hereticall Book, and of ſome deſtructive policies he uſed, which doe yet ſurvive in their ſad and lamentable effects. Iudge what I ſay, put the caſe a man commits notorious crimes ſcandalouſly, becauſe publiquely, and doth not only hold, but vent damnable hereſies; and vent them not only in the Pulpit, but in the Preſſe; ſhall not his damnable hereſies and printed hereſies be confuted after his death? ſhall thouſands be ſeduced and periſh, and all Orthdox Divines ſilenced with that one Proverb, *Nothing is to be ſpoken of the dead but good?* Nay, put the caſe further yet, ſuppoſe a man hath had his head full of powder-plots, and his heart full of bloody deſires, nay hath been a Ring-leader and Encourager of others to bloody practiſes againſt the very light of nature as well as Scripture; muſt nothing be ſaid of ſuch a man when he is gone, but good?

Mr *Chillingworth* and I met in *Suſſex* by an unexpected providence: I was driven from my owne houſe by force of Armes, only (as the Cavaliers confeſſed) becauſe I was nominated to be a Member of the Aſſembly: and when I heard that my Living was beſtowed upon a Doctor (who if ſome *Cambridge-men* deceive me not, became the *ſtage* farre better then he doth the *Pulpit*) I reſolved to exerciſe my Miniſtery in *Suſſex* amongſt my friends, in a place where there hath been little of the power of Religion either known

or practiſed. About the latter end of *November* I travelled from *London* to *Chicheſter*, according to my uſuall cuſtome, to obſerve the monthly Faſt; and in my paſſage with a thankfull heart I ſhall ever acknowledge it, I was guarded by a Convoy of 16 Souldiers, who faced about 200 of the enemies forces, and put them all to flight. Upon the twelfth of *December* I viſited a brave Souldier of my acquaintance, Captain *James Temple*, who did that day defend the Fort at *Bramber* againſt a bold daring enemy, to the wonder of all the countrey: and I did not marvell at it, for he is a man that hath his head full of ſtratagems, his heart full of piety and valour, and his hand as full of ſucceſſe as it is of dexterity: My gratefull pen might wel run on in his commendation, to the eternall ſhame of thoſe who have been ungratefull to him, to whom they doe (under God) owe their preſervation. But I intend not to defraud others of their deſerved praiſe, who were preſent at that fierce encounter. There was preſent Colonell *Herbert Morley*, a Gentleman of a nimble apprehenſion & vigilant ſpirit; but the *Cavaliers* were kept at ſuch a diſtance, that they never put the Colonels Regiment of horſe to any trouble: There was preſent likewiſe Captaine *Henry Carleton*, the Antiprelaticall ſonne of a learned Prelate, a man of a bold preſence and fixed reſolution, who loves his country better then his life. Captain *Simon Everden* was there alſo, a man of ſlow ſpeech, but ſure performance, wh. deſerves that Motto of the old *Romans*, *Non tam facile loqu.. quam quod locutus ſum præſto.* You cannot expect that I ſhould name all the reſt of the Commanders: But there were (you ſee) ſome difficulties in my way, which ſeemed inſuperable, and yet the Lord of Hoſts did bring me thorow theſe difficulties ſafe from *Bramber* to *Arundell*, upon the 21 day of *December*, if I forget not. Maſter *Chillingworth* was at that time in *Arundell* Caſtle, which was ſurrendred to the much renowned Commander Sir *William Waller*, *Serjeant-Major-generall of all the aſſociated Counties in the Eaſt and Weſt*, upon the firſt of *January*. As ſoone as the Caſtle was ſurrendred, I repreſented Maſter *Chillingworths* condition to Sir *William Waller*, who commended him to the care of his worthy Chaplaine;

and

and his Chaplaine ſhewed ſo much charity and reſpect towards him, that he laid him upon his owne bed, and ſupplied him with all neceſſaries which the place did afford. When the reſt of the Priſoners were ſent up to *London*, Maſter *Chillingworth* made it evident to me, that he was not able to endure ſo long a journey; and if he had been put to it, he had certainly died by the way: I deſired therefore that his journey might bee ſhortned, and upon my humble motion he was ſent to *Chicheſter*, where I intreated the *Governour* that he might be ſecured by ſome Officer of his acquaintance, and not put into the hands of the *Marſhall*; the Governour gave order that Lieutenant *Golledge* ſhould take charge of him, and placed him in the Biſhop of *Chicheſters* Palace, where he had very courteous uſage, and all accommodations which were requiſite for a ſicke man, as appeares by the teſtimony of his owne man at *Oxford*, and a Letter of thankfull acknowledgment from Maſter *Chillingworths* father to Lieutenant *Golledge*: nay, by Maſter *Chillingworths* Codicill, which hee deſired ſhould be annexed to his Will, in which he gave 10 *li.* to Captaine *King*, 10 *li.* to Miſtreſſe *Maſon*, who keepes the Biſhops houſe, and attended Maſter *Chillingworth* in his ſickneſſe, and 10 *li.* to Lieutenant *Golledge*: And it may further appeare by a Letter of Captain *Kings* ſent to *Oxford*, and the teſtimony of Maſter *Edmonds*, his Apothecary; both which are as followes.

Captain *Kings* Letter ſent to Mr *Walter Ionas*, one of the Chaplains of *Chriſt-Church* in *Oxford*, Ian. 23.

Kind friend,

MAſter Chillingworth *was in ſo weake a condition, by reaſon of a violent fluxe, that I perſwade my ſelfe hee could not have lived the firſt night of his journey, had he gone further; for it was very tedious to him to be brought hither. He lyes very ill, and (for aught I perceive) in a deſperate condition; and how God may diſpoſe of him we know not: if any of his friends have a pur-*

or practiſed. About the latter end of *November* I travelled from *London* to *Chicheſter*, according to my uſuall cuſtome, to obſerve the monthly Faſt; and in my paſſage, with a thankfull heart I ſhall ever acknowledge it, I was guarded by a Convoy of 16 Souldiers, who faced about 200 of the enemies forces, and put them all to flight. Upon the twelfth of *December* I viſited a brave Souldier of my acquaintance, Captain *James Temple*, who did that day defend the Fort at *Bramber* againſt a bold daring enemy, to the wonder of all the countrey: and I did not marvell at it, for he is a man that hath his head full of ſtratagems, his heart full of piety and valour, and his hand as full of ſucceſſe as it is of dexterity: My gratefull pen might wel run on in his commendation, to the eternall ſhame of thoſe who have been ungratefull to him, to whom they doe (under God) owe their preſervation. But I intend not to defraud others of their deſerved praiſe, who were preſent at that fierce encounter. There was preſent Colonell *Herbert Morley*, a Gentleman of a nimble apprehenſion & vigilant ſpirit; but the *Cavaliers* were kept at ſuch a diſtance, that they never put the Colonels Regiment of horſe to any trouble. There was preſent likewiſe Captaine *Henry Carleton*, the Antiprelaticall ſonne of a learned Prelate, a man of a bold preſence and fixed reſolution, who loves his country better then his life. Captain *Simon Everden* was there alſo, a man of ſlow ſpeech, but ſure performance, who deſerves that Motto of the old *Romans*, *Non tam facile loquor, quam quod locutus ſum præſto.* You cannot expect that I ſhould name all the reſt of the Commanders: But there were (you ſee) ſome difficulties in my way, which ſeemed inſuperable, and yet the Lord of Hoſts did bring me thorow theſe difficulties ſafe from *Bramber* to *Arundell*, upon the 21 day of *December*, if I forget not. Maſter *Chillingworth* was at that time in *Arundell* Caſtle, which was ſurrendred to the much renowned Commander Sir *William Waller*, *Serjeant-Major-generall of all the aſſociated Counties in the Eaſt and Weſt*, upon the firſt of *January*. As ſoone as the Caſtle was ſurrendred, I repreſented Maſter *Chillingworths* condition to Sir *William Waller*, who commended him to the care of his worthy Chaplaine;

and

and his Chaplaine ſhewed ſo much charity and reſpect towards him, that he laid him upon his owne bed, and ſupplied him with all neceſſaries which the place did afford. When the reſt of the Priſoners were ſent up to *London*, Maſter *Chillingworth* made it evident to me, that he was not able to endure ſo long a journey; and if he had been put to it, he had certainly died by the way: I deſired therefore that his journey might bee ſhortned, and upon my humble motion he was ſent to *Chicheſter*, where I intreated the *Governour* that he might be ſecured by ſome Officer of his acquaintance, and not put into the hands of the *Marſhall*; the Governour gave order that Lievtenant *Golledge* ſhould take charge of him, and placed him in the Biſhop of *Chicheſters* Palace, where he had very courteous uſage, and all accommodations which were requiſite for a ſicke man, as appeares by the teſtimony of his owne man at *Oxford*, and a Letter of thankfull acknowledgment from Maſter *Chillingworths* father to Lievtenant *Golledge*: nay, by Maſter *Chillingworths* Codicill, which hee deſired ſhould be annexed to his Will, in which he gave 10 *li.* to Captaine *King*, 10 *li.* to Miſtreſſe *Maſon*, who keepes the Biſhops houſe, and attended Maſter *Chillingworth* in his ſickneſſe, and 10 *li.* to Lievtenant *Golledge*: And it may further appeare by a Letter of Captain *Kings* ſent to *Oxford*, and the teſtimony of Maſter *Edmonds*, his Apothecary; both which are as followes.

Captain *Kings* Letter ſent to Mr *walter Ionas*, one of the Chaplains of *Chriſt-Church* in *Oxford*, Ian. 23.

Kind friend,

MAſter Chillingworth *was in ſo weake a condition, by reaſon of a violent flixe, that I perſwade my ſelfe hee could not have lived the firſt night of his journey, had he gone further; for it was very tedious to him to be brought hither. He lyes very ill, and (for aught I perceive) in a deſperate condition; and how God may diſpoſe of him we know not: if any of his friends have a pur-*

pose to come into these parts, they shall have free passage without any molestation. Lievtenant Golledge *performes the part of a reall friend in every kinde; neither is* Christobell *wanting in her best care and diligence.* Lievtenant Golledge *hath already disburst* 10 li. *or thereabout: It would not be amisse that some of Master* Chillingworths *friends were present with him, whileſt there is some hope of life; for it will be a great satisfaction both to him and others: There must be no delayes either of time or money.*

I heare that Master Chillingworths *Sister, whom hee hath made Executrix, is travelling with childe, and therefore unfit for travell, but he is very confident she will not let him want for necessary supplies whileſt he lives, and that hee may have decent buriall (befitting one of his merit) if it pleaseth God he chance to dye. Among other of his friends, I pray acquaint Doctor* Shelden, *the Warden of* All-soules, *with what is written, whom Master* Chillingworth *doth very highly esteem.*

From Chicheſter
Jan. 23.

Your very affectionate friend,

Robert King.

The testimony of Master *Edmonds*.

A Friend standing by him, desired him to declare himselfe in point of Religion, for two reasons: first, Because the Iesuites had much defamed and traduced him in that particular: secondly, Because he might be able to give an account to his friends, in case he should survive. He answered, he had declared himselfe already in that point sufficiently to the world. His friend told him, that there went abroad some hard opinions that he had of Iesus Christ, and wisht him to deale candidly and plainly to the world in that point. He answered, for those things he was setled and resolved, and therefore did not desire to be further troubled. Being demanded, what course should be taken for his interment, in case God should take him away in this place; he replied, that where ever God should please to take him, he would there be interred;

terred; and (if it might be obtained) according to the cuſtome of the Church of England; *if not, the Lords will be done. And further (ſaid hee) becauſe the world will be apt to ſurmiſe the worſt of things, and there may be ſome inquiry made after my uſage in this place, I muſt teſtifie and declare to all the world, that I have received both of Maſter* Golledge *and his wife, abundance of love, care, and tenderneſſe, where I deſerved it not; and that I have wanted nothing which might be deſired of them: and I muſt in all conſcience and honeſty doe them this right, to teſtifie the truth to the world: or to that effect.*

Anthony Edmonds.

And for my part, I beleeve that in the courſe of nature hee might have recovered, had he not neglected and diſtruſted an able Doctor (who freely offered himſelfe) onely becauſe hee was Phyſician to Sir *William Waller*; ſure I am that jealouſie was more deadly then his diſeaſe. Yet Maſter *Chillingworth* did, when it was too late, diſcover and confeſſe his errour, and we perſwaded the Doctor to viſit him afterwards, and he was in an hopefull way of recovery: but then his ſpirit was much dejected, becauſe his friends neglected, or delayed, to ſend him ſome good newes from *Oxford*: his heart was ſo ſet upon his releaſe, and his head was ſtill working and projecting, how he might be exchanged, or ranſomed; and therefore certainly the Newes of his friends active endevours for his releaſe, was the *onely Cordiall* which could poſſibly revive his ſpirits; and for want of ſuch a Cordiall his heart was even dead within him before he died. I entreated him to plucke up his ſpirits, and not to yeeld to his diſeaſe; but I perceived, that though Reaſon be *ſtout* when it encounters with faith, yet reaſon is not *ſo valiant* when it is to encounter with affliction: and I cannot but obſerve, *that many a Parliaments-ſouldier hath been more chearfull in a priſon, then this diſcourſing Engineer, and learned Captive was in a Palace:* Beleeve it, Reader, beleeve it, that neither gifts, nor parts, nor profeſſion, nor any thing elſe but *faith*, will ſuſtaine the ſpirit of a man in ſpirituall ſtraights and worldly encombrances, when *without there are fightings, and within there are fears.*

Another

Another reaſon there was, which (as I conceive) was very deſtructive to this *Man of Reaſon*; he was diſreliſhed, and (I beleeve) abuſed by moſt of the great Officers who were taken Priſoners in *Arundell-caſtle*; they looked upon him as an intruder into their councells of warre, and (as one of them whiſpered) the *Queens intelligencer*, who was ſet as a Spie over them and all their proceedings. When Major *Molins* came to treat, hee ſpake very coldly for Maſter *Chillingworth*; and a greater Commander then he, told me, that they were bound to curſe *that little Prieſt* to the pit of hell, for he had been the ruine of them all: I replyed in his behalfe, that I wondered much that they ſhould make ſo weake an Apology, for I could not beleeve that Maſter *Chillingworths* ſingle Vote could turn their Councell of warre round, and make them giddy: The ingenious Gentleman made uſe of the liberty of his judgement, and replyed; "Sir, Maſter *Chillingworth* hath ſo much credit "at the Court, and the Court-councell hath ſo much influence "into our military Councell, that we were even over-awed, "and durſt not contradict Maſter *Chillingworth*, for feare leſt "our owne reſolutions might ſucceed ill, and then his counſell "would have been eſteemed the better. I told the Gentleman, that I thought Maſter *Chillingworth* wanted experience for the ordering of military affaires, and therefore could not well apply the generall rules of reaſon aright, and bring them downe to practiſe in caſes which were difficult, becauſe unuſuall. The Gentleman replyed, "Sir, Maſter *Chillingworth* is "ſo confident of his great wit and parts, that hee conceives "himſelfe able to manage martiall affaires, in which hee hath "no experience, by the ſtrength of his owne wit and reaſon: Sir (quoth I) you may forgive him, for though I hope to bee *ſaved by faith*, yet Maſter *Chillingworth* hopes that a man may be *ſaved by reaſon*, and therefore you may well give him leave to fight by reaſon. Sir (ſaith that witty Gentleman) I confeſſe it is a ſad objection, which I know not how to anſwere; and ſo in ſtead of an anſwere we went to dinner. But I did examine the buſineſſe impartially afterwards, and perceive that theſe great Commanders have groſſely abuſed Maſter *Chillingworth*,

worth, in laying all the blame upon him, as if he were guilty of loſing the out-workes, the Towne, the Caſtle, and all; and therefore I ſhall doe Maſter *Chillingworth* ſo much right, as to offer ſome conſiderations, which may tend to his excuſe or vindication: For what though Maſter *Chillingworth* were the grand-Engineer at *Glocester* and *Arundel*, and both projects failed, the fault might be in the Officers and Souldiers, and not in the Engineer: Put the caſe the Lord *Hopton*, Baron of *Stratton*, Field-Marſhall-generall of the Weſt, promiſe to bring three thouſand men, and the Engineer make a line of Communication which cannot be defended with fewer then two thouſand; but the field-Marſhall doth in the mean time forget himſelfe, and quarter his men in three or foure Maniples; but his enemy being a more *wary and prudent Commander*, keeps his men in a contracted and compact body, which is too ſtrong for the beſt of his Maniples, and falls upon one of the field-Marſhals Quarters, takes and kills neare upon a thouſand men, and the field-Marſhall by ſuch an unexpected blow is utterly diſabled for the fulfilling of his promiſe, of ſending three thouſand, nay is not able to ſend above 1500 men: ſhall the Engineer or the field-Marſhall be blamed in ſuch a caſe?

Nay, what if the enemy advance before the Engineer hath quite finiſhed his workes? yet if he hath made them defenſible againſt any ſudden aſſault, and the Souldiers, which ſhould defend the works, quit their Trenches, and runne all away, before any one man be ſlaine in the Trenches, ſhall the Engineere be blamed in ſuch a caſe, or the Souldiers, who were ſtricken with feare when there was no conſiderable cauſe of feare?

Finally, if the Lord of Hoſts, who did ſtrike a terrour to the very heart of the Souldiers, doe ſhew himſelfe a God of wiſdome, and infatuate the counſels of the grand *Achitophels*; nay, ſhew himſelfe a ſin-revenging God, and ſmite the Souldiers in the Caſtle with deadly diſeaſes, *with one Pox more than they carried in with them, with the Flux, the Calenture, the ſpotted Feaver, and the like*: if in the midſt of theſe diſtreſſes the Souldiers breake forth into a *mutinous flame*, and ſet all their fellowes in a combuſtion, muſt the Engineer bee blamed if the

Caſtle be ſurrendred in ſuch a caſe? Now I appeale to their Councell of Warre, whether their caſe were not ſo like to theſe caſes which have beene put, that it is hard to ſay wherein they differed. Let not then Maſter *Chillingworth* be charged with more faults then he was guilty of; I cannot but vindicate his reputation from all falſe aſperſions, which are caſt upon him by ſome who know not how to excuſe themſelves: I tooke all the care I could of his body whileſt he was ſicke, and will (as farre as he was innocent) take care of his fame and reputation now he is dead: nay, whileſt he was alive, I tooke care of ſomething more precious then his health or reputation, to wit, his precious and beloved ſoule; for in compaſſion to his ſoule I dealt freely and plainly with him, and told him that he had been very active in fomenting theſe bloudy warres againſt the Parliament and Common-wealth of England, his naturall countrey, and by conſequent, againſt the very light of nature: "I acknowledge (ſaith he) that I have beene active in theſe "warres, but I have ever followed the dictates of my conſci- "ence; and if you convince me that I am in an errour, you "ſhall not finde me obſtinate. I told him, I conceived that he might want ſleep, being at that time newly come out of the Caſtle, and therefore I gave him time to refreſh himſelfe: and when I came to him againe, I asked him whether he was fit for diſcourſe; he told me, yes, but ſomewhat faintly: I certified him, that I did not deſire to take him at the loweſt, when his ſpirits were flatted, and his reaſon diſturbed, but had much rather undertake him when he was at the higheſt, becauſe I came prepared to receive ſatisfaction, and looked upon my ſelfe as unlikely to give ſatisfaction to one, whom I acknowledged ſo much above mee, in regard of his parts, gifts, experience; he having ſtudied bookes and men, and more accurately diſcuſſed that queſtion of State then ever I had done. He then told me, that he was pretty well refreſhed, and as able (as he uſed to be in theſe times of diſtraction) for any diſcourſe about that great controverſie of State. He deſired me to begin: I ſatisfied his deſire, and told him that it would be very requiſite in the firſt place to ſtate the Queſtion aright; for (as I conceived)

many

many ingenious men were groſſely miſtaken even in the very ſtate of the Queſtion.

Firſt then be pleaſed (quoth I) to conſider, that *the originall difference was not between the King and the Parliament*, but between the *Parliament* and *Delinquents*; and indeed, betweene the *Queen and the Parliament*: I told him, that hee could not be ignorant that upon the fourth of *January*, two yeares agoe, *the King went unto the Parliament upon the Queens errand*; and I beleeved that he knew better then I, how much *the Queen was diſcontented, becauſe her bloody deſigne was not put in execution*: He told me, *that he could not deny it, and he would not excuſe it.* When I was going on to diſcourſe about other matters of fact, he confeſſed very honeſtly, that he did now perceive, *that they had no certaine information of matters of fact at Oxford*: whereby I perceived that it was no wonder that ſo many brave men were ſeduced to fight againſt the Parliament.

Vpon further diſcourſe, he told me that he obſerved a great deale of piety in the Commanders and Souldiers of the Parliaments Army: "I confeſſe (ſaith he) their diſcourſe and beha-
"viour doth ſpeake them Chriſtians, but I can finde little of
"God or godlineſſe in our men; they will not ſeeke God
"whileſt they are in their bravery, nor truſt him when they are
"in diſtreſſe; I have much adoe (ſaith he) to bring them up-
"on their knees, to call upon God, or to reſigne themſelves up
"to God, when they goe on upon any deſperate ſervice, or are
"caſt into any perplexed condition. I liked him well, when I heard him run on ſo fluently to this effect, and I cloſed with him, and deſired him to tell me freely, whether in good earneſt he thought the Parliament did intend any thing elſe then the *taking of the wicked from before the King, the eſtabliſhing of the Kings throne in juſtice*, the *ſetting up of Chriſts ordinances* in power, purity, liberty, and the *ſetling of the knowne lawes of the land, the priviledges of the Parliament, and liberties of the ſubjects, in quiet and peace.*

"Sir (ſaith he) I muſt acknowledge that I doe verily be-
"leeve that the intentions of the Parliament are better then
"the intentions of the Court, or of that Army which I have

" followed; but I conceive that the Parliament takes a wrong
" course to prosecute and accomplish their good intentions;
" for warre is not the way of Iesus Christ.

Truely I was ashamed to dispute with him any longer, when he had given me so much advantage: For first, he clearly condemned himselfe for being confederate with them, whose intentions were destructive; because no man must promote an ill designe by any meanes whatsoever, be they never so lawfull. Secondly, he confessed himselfe cleane out of his way when he was in Armes; for warre, saith he, (and he learnt to say so of the *Anabaptists* and *Socinians*) is not the way of Iesus Christ; all that he could say for himselfe was, that he had no command in the Army; and yet their greatest Officers told me, that in a true construction there was no man else that had a command to any purpose, but Master *Chillingworth*. And as touching their intentions, it is no hard matter to guesse at the intentions of the French and Spanish faction at Court, or the *Irish intentions of the Papists, Prelates, Delinquents, &c. that follow the Queens Army*. I am sure one of the Captains that was taken Prisoner at *Arundell, had a Spanish head, a French nose, and an Irish heart:* And there was a Letter found in *Arundell*-Castle, which was directed to Master *Beckingham*, the Earle of *Arundels* Receiver, which doth declare the good intentions of the Queens Army. I took a copy of it, which I will here transcribe word for word.

Good Mr Beckingham,

I *Doubt not but you are acquainted with the* generall *and voluntary contribution of the* whole Catholikes *of this Kingdome, both to declare the true affection of their hearts towards his Majestie, in* this, *as in* all other occasions: *as also to exhibite such aid as their estates doe afford, to assist his Majestie* in this present businesse, which doth concerne each one in particular.

The monies which the Catholikes are to give, must be presented this Terme, and therefore I entreat you that you will be pleased that what your liberality will bestow in so good a cause, *you will cause it to be delivered to me in London, and I shall give (an account*

count thereof to ſuch as it doth concern, and) you a ſufficient diſcharge.

The ſubſcription and name was torne away.

I need not make any obſervations upon this Letter, it ſpeakes for it ſelfe; and it ſpeaks ſo bad Engliſh, and ſuch perfect policy, that I beleeve the man that writ it was no Engliſhman borne.

There was a Commiſſion found there likewiſe (which doth declare their good intentions) directed to Sir *Edward Ford*, *&c.* to ſecure the perſons of all men in *Suſſex*, who had contributed to the Parliament, and to ſeize their eſtates, and ſell their goods to the utmoſt value, for the beſt advantage of his Majeſty; and the Commiſſioners were to give an account of their ſervice to the field-Marſhall Generall, Baron of Stratten, Commander in chiefe of all his Majeſties forces in *Surrey*, *Suſſex*, *Kent*, *&c.* Now their intentions are as you ſee: And as touching the meanes uſed, Maſter *Chillingworth* himſelf would not ſay that the Queen and her adherents, Prelates, Papiſts, Delinquents, Malignants, of the French conſpiracy, the *Spaniſh* faction, or the *Iriſh* Rebellion, and their confederates, doe take better courſes, and uſe more lawfull meanes to accompliſh their intentions, and bring about their deſignes, then the Parliament of *England*, the Kingdome of *Scotland*, and the Proteſtants in *Ireland*: ſince then Maſter *Chillingworth* did (as all ingenuous and active ſpirits doe) deteſt Neutrality, hee might have ſeene (for hee had light enough to ſee) the way of Jeſus Chriſt.

I deſired him to tell me, *whether the higheſt Court of juſtice in the Kingdome may not compell Delinquents (who are proteſted by force againſt Law) to come in by force of Armes, that they may be tryed according to Law?*

Firſt, hee acknowledged that the Parliament is the higheſt Court; and therefore (I conclude) not to be controlled by ſome few of the Kings Councell, or by a pretended Aſſembly, conſiſting of Fugitives and Delinquents. Secondly, ſaith he, I muſt deale plainly with you, though the Parliament hath

" followed; but I conceive that the Parliament takes a wrong " course to prosecute and accomplish their good intentions; " for warre is not the way of Iesus Christ.

Truely I was ashamed to dispute with him any longer, when he had given me so much advantage: For first, he clearly condemned himselfe for being confederate with them, whose intentions were destructive; because no man must promote an ill designe by any meanes whatsoever, be they never so lawfull. Secondly, he confessed himselfe cleane out of his way when he was in Armes; for warre, saith he, (and he learnt to say so of the *Anabaptists* and *Socinians*) is not the way of Iesus Christ; all that he could say for himselfe was, that he had no command in the Army; and yet their greatest Officers told me, that in a true construction there was no man else that had a command to any purpose, but Master *Chillingworth*. And as touching their intentions, it is no hard matter to guesse at the intentions of the French and Spanish faction at Court, or the *Irish intentions of the Papists, Prelates, Delinquents, &c. that follow the Queens Army*. I am sure one of the Captains that was taken Prisoner at *Arundell, had a Spanish head, a French mist, and an Irish heart:* And there was a Letter found in *Arundell*-Castle, which was directed to Master *Beckingham*, the Earle of *Arundels* Receiver, which doth declare the good intentions of the Queens Army. I took a copy of it, which I will here transcribe word for word.

Good Mr Beckingham,

I *Doubt not but you are acquainted with the* generall *and voluntary contribution of the* whole Catholikes *of this Kingdome, both to declare the true affection of their hearts towards his Majesty, in* this, *as in* all other occasions: *as also to exhibite such aid as their estates doe afford, to assist his Majesty* in this present businesse, which doth concerne each one in particular.

The monies which the Catholikes are to give, must be presented this Terme, and therefore I entreat you that you will be pleased that what your liberality will bestow in so good a cause, *you will cause it to be delivered to me in London, and I shall give* (*an account*

count thereof to ſuch as it doth concern, and) you a ſufficient diſcharge.

The ſubſcription and name was torne away.

I need not make any obſervations upon this Letter, it ſpeakes for it ſelfe; and it ſpeaks ſo bad Engliſh, and ſuch perfect policy, that I beleeve the man that writ it was no Engliſhman borne.

There was a Commiſſion found there likewiſe (which doth declare their good intentions) directed to Sir *Edward Ford*, *&c.* to ſecure the perſons of all men in *Suſſex*, who had contributed to the Parliament, and to ſeize their eſtates, and ſell their goods to the utmoſt value, for the beſt advantage of his Majeſty; and the Commiſſioners were to give an account of their ſervice to the field-Marſhall Generall, Baron of Stratten, Commander in chiefe of all his Majeſties forces in *Surrey*, *Suſſex*, *Kent*, *&c.* Now their intentions are as you ſee: And as touching the meanes uſed, Maſter *Chillingworth* himſelf would not ſay that the Queen and her adherents, Prelates, Papiſts, Delinquents, Malignants, of the French conſpiracy, the *Spaniſh* faction, or the *Iriſh* Rebellion, and their confederates, doe take better courſes, and uſe more lawfull meanes to accompliſh their intentions, and bring about their deſignes, then the Parliament of *England*, the Kingdome of *Scotland*, and the Proteſtants in *Ireland*: ſince then Maſter *Chillingworth* did (as all ingenuous and active ſpirits doe) deteſt Neutrality, hee might have ſeene (for hee had light enough to ſee) the way of Jeſus Chriſt.

I deſired him to tell me, *whether the higheſt Court of juſtice in the Kingdome may not compell Delinquents (who are proteſted by force againſt Law) to come in by force of Armes, that they may be tryed according to Law?*

Firſt, hee acknowledged that the Parliament is the higheſt Court; and therefore (I conclude) not to be controlled by ſome few of the Kings Councell, or by a pretended Aſſembly, conſiſting of Fugitives and Delinquents. Secondly, ſaith he, I muſt deale plainly with you, though the Parliament hath

voted some to be Delinquents, and the Queen her selfe to be a Traitour, yet I doe not beleeve that their judgement is infallible. I was able to answere him out of his owne booke, that *the judgment of a Court or person* (especially where there is evidence of the fact) *may be certaine, though that Court or person be not infallible*: Secondly, though the judgment of the highest Court be not *infallible*, yet *it is finall, and therefore we cannot appeale from the judgement of the Parliament, to any Court, but the Court of heaven.* True, (saith Master *Chillingworth*) but this is it which stickes with me, that there is no fundamentall constitution for the government of this Kingdome *by a standing Parliament*: To which I had many answers to returne; first, there is a fundamentall constitution for the government of this Kingdome by the three Estates: secondly, there is a Law for the frequency of Parliaments: and thirdly, the vertue and strength of every Parliament continues in the Acts of every Parliament, by which the Kingdome is governed, even after the dissolution of that Parliament; every Parliament doth live in its unrepealed Acts, and therefore lives even after its dissolution; and in that respect wee have many Parliaments yet standing; *some old* Elisabeth-*Parliaments doe as yet live, breath, move, and operate, with strength and vigour*: fourthly, there is an Act passed for the continuance of this Parliament, by the unanimous consent of all three Estates; *and the Kings Councell could not find any other probable meanes under heaven for the disengaging of his Majesty, then the framing and passing of that Act of continuance.* Master *Chillingworth* (putting off his hat) cryed, I acknowledge that Act with all reverence, and *there is your strength.* He seemed pretty well satisfied with that answere; and as touching *the way of Jesus Christ*, I desired to know whether the Saints were not to make warre against the Whore and the Beast? Whether it be not an act of charity, for Protestants to lay downe their lives for their Brethren? Whether it be not an act of faith, to waxe valiant in fight for the defence of that faith, which was once delivered to the Saints? I perceived my Gentleman somewhat puzled, and I tooke my leave, that he might take his rest.

My

My heart was moved with compaſſion towards him, and I gave him many viſits after this firſt viſit; but I ſeldome found him in fit caſe to diſcourſe, becauſe his diſeaſe grew ſtronger and ſtronger, and he weaker and weaker: I deſired to know his opinion concerning that *Liturgy* which hath beene formerly ſo much extolled, and even idolized amongſt the people; but all the anſwer that I could get was to this purpoſe, that *there were ſome truths which the Miniſters of the Goſpel are not bound upon paine of damnation to publiſh to the people:* and indeed he conceived it very unfit to publiſh any thing concerning the Common-Prayer-Book, or the Book of Ordination &c. *for feare of ſcandall.* I was ſorry to heare ſuch an anſwer drop from a dying man and I conceived it could not but be much more ſcandalous, to ſeduce or hoodwink the people, then to inſtruct and edifie them in a point which did *directly concerne the publike worſhip of God in this Land.*

When I found him pretty hearty one day, I deſired him to tell me, *whether he conceived that a man living and dying a Turk, Papiſt, or Socinian, could be ſaved?*

All the anſwer that I could gaine from him was, *that he did not abſolve them, and would not condemne them.* I was much diſpleaſed with the anſwer upon divers reaſons: Firſt, becauſe the queſtion was put home, of a man living and dying, ſo or ſo. Secondly, it was frivolous to talk of Abſolution, for it was out of queſtion that he could not abſolve them. Thirdly, it ſhewed that he was too well perſwaded of Turciſm and Socinianiſm, which runne exactly parallel in too many points. Fourthly, he ſeems to Anathematize the Socinians in the Preface to the Author of Charity, maintained Sect. 28. when *Knot* had reckoned up ſome Socinian Tenets, Mr *Chillingworth* anſwers, *Whoſoever teaches or holds them, let him be Anathema.* I have not *Knots* Book by me now, I meane his direction to *N. N.* and Mr *Chillingworth* was ſo wiſe as not to reckon up the number of thoſe impious doctrins, or name them in particular, becauſe they were all fathered upon him, and he would not aſſiſt Mr *Knot* ſo farre in the ſpreading of his owne undeſerved defamation, *ibid.* Sect. 28.

I am

I am afraid that *Knot* reckoned up too many points of Socinianism, or did not forme his Interrogations aright, and then Mr *Chillingworth* might safely anathematize, and yet be a *Socinian* in many points which were not reckoned up, or not well expressed; And yet his Anathema is warily pronounced, he doth not say, Whosoever teaches or holds them or any of them, let him be Anathema. Moreover, if the Socinians be asked, whether Christ be God, they will say, Yes; but then they meane that he is the Sonne of God, borne after an extraordinary manner by the overshadowing of the holy Ghost, *Luke* 1. 31,32,35. or that the word of God came unto him, and therefore is called God, because of his extraordinary Commission from God, or the like, *John* 10. 35. Now either Mr *Chillingworth* was guilty of some such equivocation and sly evasion, or else he grew worse and worse, and would not anathematize a grosse Socinian. And if in these latter dayes Seducers grow worse and worse, I shall not wonder at it, 2 Tim. 3. 13.

When Mr *Chillingworth* saw himselfe entangled in disputes, he desired me that I would deale charitably with him, for, saith he, I was ever a charitable man: my answer was somewhat tart, and therefore the more charitable, considering his condition, and the counsell of the Apostle. *Titus* 1. 13. *Rebuke them sharply*, or (as *Beza* hath it) *precisely, that they may be sound in the faith*; And I desire not to conceale my tartnesse, it was to this effect: Sir, it is confessed that you have beene very excessive in your charity; *you have lavished out so much charity upon Turks, Socinians, Papists, that I am afraid you have very little to spare for a truly reformed Protestant; sure I am, the zealous Protestants finde very little charity at Oxford.*

The last time I visited him, was on the Lords day, for I thought it a Sabbath-duty, and then he began to speak of some questions which I formerly propounded to him, whereof this was one; *Whether Tyranny was Gods Ordinance?* I presently took him off from that discourse, because I knew he had beene laid up fast by that argument before; for it is impossible that

that any man ſhould ever prove, that Tyranny is not to be reſiſted upon this ground, becauſe we muſt not reſiſt Gods Ordinance, unleſſe they could prove, that which is *blaſphemy to mention, viz. That Tyranny is Gods Ordinance.* I deſired him that he would now take off his thoughts from all matters of *Speculation*, and fix upon ſome practicall point which might make for his *Edification.*

He thanked me (as I hope) very heartily, and told me that in all points of Religion he was ſetled, and had fully expreſſed himſelfe for the ſatisfaction of others in his Book, which was approved and licenſed by very learned and judicious Divines. Upon further diſcourſe I began to tell him what meditation did moſt comfort me in times of Extremity: and I added that the meditation was very proper for a man in his condition, if he could lay hold upon the *Covenant of Grace.* I made choiſe of that Scripture, 2 *Sam.* 23. the five firſt verſes; and I began to open the fifth verſe a little to him: I told him that all our hopes of ſalvation are grounded upon the Covenant of Grace, for it is a ſure Covenant, an ordered Covenant, nay, a Covenant in all things ordered and ſure, an everlaſting Covenant, a ſaving Covenant; they were *Davids* laſt words, *this is all my ſalvation.* And I preſſe this point the rather, becauſe he doth acknowledge in his Book, that the Doctrine about the Covenant is a Fundamentall Doctrine; and becauſe his expreſſions are very imperfect and obſcure in his ſubtle Book, I was in good hope that he would have explained himſelfe more fully and clearly in that Fundamentall point; but I could not obtaine what I deſired. Not long after I told him, that I did uſe to pray for him in private, and asked him whether it was his deſire that I ſhould pray for him in publique: he anſwered, yes, with all his heart; and he ſaid withall, that he hoped he ſhould fare the better for my prayers.

I obſerved that Mr *Chillingworth* was much troubled with a ſore throat, and oppreſſed with tough phlegme, which would certainly choak him up, if there were not ſome ſudden remedy. I ſent therefore to a Chirurgeon, one of Mr *Chillingworths* beliefe, an able man, that pleaſed him well, and

gave him ſome eaſe. And the next day being Munday, at our morning-exerciſe in the Cathedrall, I deſired the ſouldiers and Citizens that they would in their prayers remember the diſtreſſed eſtate of Mr *Chillingworth* a ſick Priſoner in the City, *a man very eminent for the ſtrength of his parts, the excellency of his gifts, and the depth of his learning:* I told them that they were commanded to love their enemies, and therefore were bound to pray for them, eſpecially when God moved the heart of an enemy to deſire their prayers: We prayed heartily that God would be pleaſed to beſtow *ſaving graces* as well as *excellent gifts* upon him, that ſo all his gifts might be improved and ſanctified: we deſired that God would give him new light, and new eyes, that he might ſee, acknowledge, and recant his errours, that he might deny his carnall reaſon, and ſubmit to faith: that God would bleſſe all meanes which were uſed for his recovery, &c.

I beleeve none of his friends or my enemies can deny that we made a reſpectfull and Chriſtian mention of him in our prayers. The ſame day I rid to *Arundel* to move the Doctor to come over againe to viſit Mr *Chillingworth*, but the Doctour was ſent for out of Town (before I got thither) to viſit Sir *William Springot*, and ſo I loſt my journey, and the Doctour ſaw him no more. In my abſence a religious Officer of *Chicheſter* garriſon followed my ſuit to Mr *Chillingworth*, and entreated him to declare himſelfe in point of Religion; but Mr *Chillingworth* appealed to his Book againe, and ſaid he was ſetled, as you may ſee it more largely ſet down in Mr *Edmonds* his Teſtimony before. From my firſt viſitation of Mr *Chillingworth* to the laſt, I did not finde him in a condition which might any way move mee (had I beene his deadly enemy) *either to flatter or envy him, but rather to pity and pray for him*, as you ſee I did. I dare appeale to his eminent and learned friends, whether there could bee more *mercy* ſhewn to his *body*, or *charity* to his *ſoule*, whilſt he was alive? Conſider what it is worth to have a fortnights ſpace to repent in. O what would *Dives* have proffered for ſuch a mercy? if Mr *Chillingworth* did

not emprove it, that was no fault of mine; And ſhall not my charity to his ſoule and body whileſt he was alive, acquit me from being uncharitable towards him after his death? No reaſonable man will deeme mee guilty of ſuch an uncharitable madneſſe as to be angry with a carcaſſe, or to goe wreſtle with a ghoſt; for I conſider that his ghoſt might cry, *in faciem ſepeli*, Bury me with my face downward, if you pleaſe, for when the *Macedonians* (give me leave to change the ſtory a little, and ſay, when the *Iriſh*) come, and they were then neare us, they will *turn all upſide down:* I am no *Sylla*, I did not give any command to ſcatter the reliques of *Marius*: though I have not much Wiſedome, yet I have more charity then to deſerve that laſh of the Oratour, *He had beene more wiſe had he beene leſſe violent*; and yet I will confeſſe that I am, and ought to be violent *for Chriſt* and *Heaven*, and my paſſions are too often as hot as my zeale, but They may beare with ſmall faults, and in this buſineſſe I have proceeded with deliberation and moderation: I conſider that I am in the body, and my body may be delivered (I know not how ſoone) into the enemies hand; I doe not expect (though I might deſire) that halfe that mercy which I ſhewed to Maſter *Chillingworth* may be ſhewen to me; *Defunctorum cineribus violentiam inferre ſacrilega præſumptio eſt*, is a Rule (if I miſtake not) in the Civill Law; and I ſhall be able to juſtifie my carriage in the buſineſſe of his Funerall to the face of his greateſt Patrons, from all inhumanity or ſacriledge,

Marii reliquias diſſipari juſſit, acerbiori odio, quàm ſi tam ſapiens ſuiſſet quàm vehemens fuit. Cicero de Leg.

Sacrilegæ buſti abſtinuere manus.

Let us (if you pleaſe) take a view of all our proceedings, and of Maſter *Chillingworths* opinions, and then (I am afraid) ſome will ſay there was a little fooliſh pity ſhewed on my part and the uncharitableneſſe will be found in them onely, who cenſure me for want of charity.

Firſt, there were all things which may any way appertaine to the *civility* of a funerall, though there was nothing which belongs to the *ſuperſtition* of a funerall: His body was decently

laid in a convenient coffin, covered with a *mourning Herſe-cloth*, more ſeemly (as I conceive) then the uſuall covering, patched up *out of the mouldy reliques of ſome moth-eaten copes*: His friends were entertained (according to their owne deſire) with Wine and Cakes; though that is, in my conceit, a *turning of the houſe of mourning into an houſe of banqueting*: All that offered themſelves to carry his corps out of pure devotion, becauſe they were *men of his perſwaſion*, had every one of them (according to the cuſtome of the countrey) a branch of Roſemary, a mourning Ribband, and a paire of Gloves. But (as it doth become an impartiall Hiſtorian) I confeſſe there were three ſeverall opinions concerning his buriall.

The firſt opinion was negative and peremptory, That hee ought not to be buried like a Chriſtian, 1. Who refuſed to make a full and free confeſſion of Chriſtian Religion: 2. Nay, if there had been nothing elſe againſt him, but his taking up of Armes againſt his countrey, that they conceived a ſufficient reaſon to deny the buriall of his corps. I will not trouble you with many reaſons, that one place of Scripture was to them inſtead of many reaſons, to prove that an Heathen might be buried in all the outward pompe and glory that can be deviſed, rather then one who hath deſtroyed his owne land, and ſlaine his own people, *Iſa.* 14. 18, 19, 20. *All the Kings of the Nations, even all of them lye in glory, every one in his owne houſe; But thou art caſt out of thy grave, like an abominable branch, and as the raiment of thoſe that are ſlaine, thruſt thorow with a ſword, that go downe to the ſtones of the pit, as a carcaſſe trodden under feet: Thou ſhalt not be joyned with them in buriall, becauſe thou haſt deſtroyed thy land, and ſlaine thy people,* (marke that Reaſon:) *the ſeed of evill doers ſhall never bee renowned.* In the third place, ſome were bold to ſay that he was *Felo de ſe*, guilty of his owne death, by his foole-hardineſſe. Finally, it was alledged that he was an Heretick, no member of any of the Reformed Churches, and therefore to be reckoned as an Excommunicated perſon; now you know what law it is which denieth buriall to Heretikes, and Excommunicated perſons, though they be excommunicated for inconformity onely, for not appearing,

pearing, or not paying of 3.s.4.d. or ſome ſuch like cauſe; Read *Pickerings Caſe* in the high Commiſſion. The truth is, we looked upon Maſter *Chillingworth* as a kinde of Non-conformiſt, nay (to ſpeake ſtrictly) a Recuſant rather then a Non-conformiſt; for Non-conformiſts refuſe to ſubſcribe to *Canons* which *concerne Diſcipline*, but Maſter *Chillingworth* refuſed to ſubſcribe ſome *Articles of Religion*, as he himſelfe acknowledges, though he thought charitably of them who did ſubſcribe them: For (he ſaith) he doth not undertake the peculiar defence of the *Church of England*, but the *common cauſe of Proteſtants*; and yet he doth not hold the doctrine of all Proteſtants true, becauſe they hold contradictions, yet he conceived them free from all errour deſtructive of ſalvation: and though he did make ſcruple of *ſubſcribing the truth of one or two Propoſitions, yet he thought himſelfe fit enough to maintaine, that thoſe who doe ſubſcribe them are in a ſaveable condition*, See the Preface to the Author of Charity maintained Sect. 39. You ſee Maſter *Chillingworth* did refuſe to ſubſcribe. What thinke ye (Gentlemen) are not *Chicheſter* men pretty good Diſputants? Can you confute theſe Reaſons? If you can; doe your beſt; if you cannot, I have no reaſon to prompt you; ſcratch your heads, beat your deskes, bite your nailes, and I will goe ſleep, and will not heare what they ſaid of Maſter *Chillingworths* Argument on *Fieldings* caſe.

The ſecond opinion was your opinion, and the opinion of ſuch as you are, my good friends at *Athens*; the men of a Cathedrall ſpirit thought it fit that Maſter *Chillingworth*, being a member of a Cathedrall, ſhould be buried in the Cathedrall; and being *Cancellarius*, it was conceived that he ſhould be buried *intra cancellos*, and not under the Altar, neare the pot of Incenſe, that the conſtant perfume of the Incenſe might excuſe the thrift of his Executrix ——*Oſſa inodora dedit.* It was anſwered, that he was of or belonging to the Cathedrall at *Sarum*, and therefore they might carry him thither; but then his Will could not be performed, becauſe he deſired to be buried at *Chicheſter*, in caſe he did end his dayes in that City. But ſome more ſerious conceived, that this deſire of burying

rying him *intra cancellos* was but the iſſue of a ſuperſtitious conceit, that the Chancell, or *ſanctum ſanctorum*, was more holy then other places; and the carcaſſe of a Prieſt as ſacred as that holy ground: And it was their opinion that a modeſt and well-grounded deniall of this requeſt, would be the moſt effectuall confutation of that ſuperſtitious conceit. The ground of the deniall was Maſter *Chillingworths* phantaſie, *viz.* That there are two wayes to make men faithfull, (and conſequently to bring them to Heaven) without either neceſſity of Scripture or Church; his words are theſe; And Saint *Paul* tells us, that γνωστὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ might be knowne by his workes, and that they had the Law written in their hearts: *Either of theſe wayes might make ſome faithfull men, without either neceſſity of Scripture or Church*, Cap. 2. Sect. 124. pag. 100. the firſt Edition: Now ſhew me any place of Scripture (ſay they) to prove that ſuch a mans corps ſhould be buried in the Church, who maintaines that men may be ſaved without Church or Scripture. This paſſage is the more obſervable, becauſe in ſome places of his booke he would beare us in hand, that he doth not thinke that Heathens ſhall be immediately ſaved without faith in Chriſt; *See chap 3. Sect. 13. pag. 133.* but you ſee he doth not mince the matter in the place fore-cited, for it is cleare and evident that there is *nothing of the Goſpel written in the heart by nature, or in any of the workes of God by the firſt creation.*

The third opinion (which prevailed) was this, that it would be fitteſt to *permit the men of his owne perſwaſion, out of meere humanity, to bury their dead out of our ſight*; and to bury him in the *cloyſters*, amongſt the old Shavelings, Monkes, and Prieſts, of whom he had ſo good an opinion all his life.

The Prelaticall men doe conceive, that there is a kinde of holineſſe in a *cloyſter*; no excommunicated perſon muſt be buried there, unleſſe there be an abſolution ſent, either before the death of the party, or *to the dead corps*, (which they muſt call their beloved brother) *becauſe they themſelves are as lothſome and rotten as the corps:* Nay, a Papiſt muſt not be buried in the Cloyſters without ſpeciall diſpenſation from the Biſhop; and you know *the Prelates would diſpenſe with Papiſts alive or dead.*

dead. It is uſuall to bury men of good rank and quality in *Collegiate Cloyſters*; and ſure I am, the *Cavaliers* doe not bury their dead ſo honourably, *though they eſteeme them the Queenes Martyrs, they throw them into ditches or rivers.*

Finally, Mr *Chillingworths* bones ſhall reſt without any diſturbance, he ſhall not be uſed as *Wicliffe* was by Papiſts, or as *Bucer* was ſerved by the Prelaticall faction at *Cambridge*; who vouchſafed him an Honourable buriall in the dayes of *Edward* the ſixth, *anno* 1551. becauſe they knew it would be an acceptable ſervice in the eyes of Saint *Edward*, as judicious *Hooker* ſtyles him; but in the dayes of Queen *Mary* (the firſt of that name) the ſame men plucked him out of his grave againe after an inhumane and barbarous manner: but in Queen *Elizabeths* dayes, the ſame men wheeled about a third time, and made an honourable commemoration of him againe in Panegyricall Orations, and flattering verſes. Mr *Chillingworth* was buried by day, and therefore we had no Torches or Candles at his grave. *Tertullian* aſſures me, that the Chriſtians uſed no ſuch cuſtome, though the Heathens did, and the Antichriſtians now doe. *Non frangimus lucernis, lucem Dei.* I know no reaſon why Candles were uſed by Heathens at the Funerall of the dead, but becauſe they did burne the dead bodies.

Conſulat Hiſtor. de vita & obitu Bucceri.

Tertul. in Apolog. Synod. Eliber. Can. 34. 37. *Vigilantius cum Synodo pradict. illam gentilium conſuetudinum damnavit: Prope (inquit Vigilantius) ritum gentilium videmus ſub pretextu religionis introductum in Eccleſias Dei, Sole adhuc fulgente moles cereorum accendi.* Hieron. ad Vigilant. cap. 2.

——*ſubjectam more parentum*
Averſe tenuêre facem——

Virgil. Eneid.

Obſerve that I ſay, *at the Funerall*, for I know full well that they had ſome Anniverſary Commemorations, at which it was uſuall to bring Candles, and burne them at Sepulchers in honour of the Dead. I remember a famous inſtance in *Suetonius* in the life of *Auguſtus*, there is mention made of a great company who flocked together at the Tomb-ſtone of one *Maſgabas*, who had beene dead about a yeare, and they brought abundance of lights thither, as their cuſtome was. But it is ſtrongly objected that my great and unanſwerable fault was, that I did *in extremo actu deficere*, I refuſed

to

to bury him my ſelfe, and left it to others: Sirs, I confeſſe it, and ſhall deale freely and candidly in the buſineſſe.

First, Mr *Chillingworth* in his life time, deſired to have ſome part of the Common-prayer-book read over his Corps at the grave, in caſe it ſhould pleaſe God to take him away into another world by that ſickneſſe. Now I could not yeeld to this requeſt of his for many reaſons which I need not ſpecifie; yet I ſhall ſay enough to give ſatisfaction to reaſonable and modeſt men. I conceive it abſurd and ſinfull to uſe the ſame forme of words at the buriall of all manner of perſons; namely, *to inſinuate that they are all elected, that they doe all reſt in Chriſt, that we have ſure and certaine hope of their ſalvation*, &c. theſe and the like paſſages I durſt not make uſe of upon that occaſion; and all this, and a great deale more, was deſired by Mr *Chillingworth*: blame me not if I did *chooſe rather to ſatisfie my owne conſcience, then his deſire*; for what learned Doctor *Uſher* ſaith of more Ancient Formes of praiſe and prayer, is true of theſe paſſages; which kinde of Interceſſions, &c. proved an occaſion of confirming men in divers errours, eſpecially when they began once to be applied not only to the good but to evill livers alſo, unto whom by the firſt inſtitution they never were intended. Dr *Uſher* his Anſwer to the Jeſuites Challenge, pag. 192. Edit. London 1625.

Videſis Greg. Naz. Orat. in laudem Gorgon. Comment. in lob vulgo aſcripta Origeni lib. 2. Ambroſ. de Valent. & Gratiano diſſerun. Beati ambo ſi quid mea orationes valebunt: nulla dies vos ſilentio præteribit nulla inhonoratos vos mea tranſſiit oratio, nullâ nox non donatos aliquâ precum mearum contextione tranſcurret, &c. Ambroſ. de obitu Valentiniani Imperatoris.

Secondly, I doe not know to what end and purpoſe wee ſhould pray *over the dead*, unleſſe we conceive it fitting to pray *for the dead*. I doe *conſider upon what ſlight occaſions the people have heretofore runne into intolerable errours*; and there is a kinde of naturall ſuperſtition ingraffed in the minde of ingenuous men in this great buſineſſe: *men are apt to ſlide out of their civility and blinde devotion, into deteſtable ſuperſtition.* They who began to complement with the dead at firſt, did little dream that *their Complements* ſhould be urged *as Arguments* to prove that we may *make prayers to the dead*: and yet they who have ſearched farthest into the originall of that

rotten

rotten ſuperſtition, and groſſe idolatry, doe as clearly demonſtrate my obſervation to be ſolid and rationall, as if it were a *truth written with a Sun-beame*: Take Doctor *Fields* obſervation upon this Argument; *Notwithſtanding* (ſaith he) *it is moſt certaine that many particular men extended the meaning of theſe Prayers further &c. — and ſo it is true* (ſaith Doctor *Field*) *that* Calvin *ſaith, That many of the Fathers were led into errour in this matter of prayer for the dead, &c.* See his third Booke of the Church, and the 27 Chapter.

They conceived that the Saints continue their love to their brethren which they left behind them, that therefore they recommend to God thoſe particular neceſſities of their brethren, which were made knowne to them here: nay, they did entreat Saints, lying on their death-beds, not to forget their friends on earth when they were tranſlated to heaven. Adde to this, their reckoning up the names of Martyrs at the Euchariſt; the Sacrifice of praiſe; the anniverſary commemorations, and Panegyricall Orations, on the ſeverall dayes of their friends death, and I need ſay no more: Read the ſame Author (Doctor *Field*) in the ſame Booke, the 20 chapter, and you will be ſatisfied.

When I read of Funeralls in the old Teſtament, celebrated in the preſence of Idolaters mingled with the faithfull ſervants of God, is there any probability that there were any Prayers made over the dead corps? would the Idolaters have joined with the faithfull in any ſpirituall exerciſe of Religion preſented to the true God? The Heathens had ſtrange conceits, that by Prayers and Sacrifices *Perſephone* might be appeaſed, and ſo the deceaſed party fare much the better for the ſacrifices, or the prayers; (ſhadowed by the Sacrifices) for with them the Devill was worſhipped, and ſo (as they thought) appeaſed: Read Doctor *Reynolds* in the firſt Tome of his prelections on the Apocrypha, pag. 1498. *Itaque Perſephone & ſacrificiis & precibus placabatur ab Ulyſſe, Odyſſea* 11. *Apollonius apud Philoſtratum lib.* 4. *cap.* 5. *qui negat ſibi opus fuiſſe, abtulit tamen preces & orationes; atque ita, aut ſacrificiis, aut orationibus, quas ſacrificia adumbrabant, placabatur Sathanas, colebatur & adorabatur.* Gen. 50. 7, 9, and 14 verſes.

rabatur. Now if prayers were made over the dead by Heathenish Idolaters, and are still made by Romish Idolaters; and the Reformed Churches have no such custome; I humbly conceive that I shall not be condemned by any sober Christian, for not imitating Heathens or Papists.

Be pleased to observe the practise of Reformed Churches, and then you will not deeme me singular in my opinion. There was a Liturgy printed not long since, and presented to the Parliament, (let it not be thought the worse because it came from *Geneva*, or because it is said to be approved by Mr *Calvin*, and the Church of *Scotland*) and in that Liturgy you shall find that there was no great store of Service said or done at the interring of the dead corps: The corps is reverently brought to the Grave, without any further Ceremonies; which being buried, the Minister, *if he be present* and *required*, (observe those two limitations) goeth to the Church, *if it be not farre off*, (marke that likewise) and maketh some comfortable exhortation to the people, touching death and resurrection. You see that in their judgement the corps may be reverently interred without a Minister; yet if he be present, there are no prayers appointed to be said over the dead body; but the Minister is to repaire to the Church, and preach to the Congregation, as I did upon the advantage of the like occasion.

The practise of the Church of *Scotland* is set forth by that reverend and learned Commissioner of *Scotland*, Master *Rutherford*, Professour of Divinity at Saint *Andrewes*, cap. 20. art. 9 p. 319. in these words: *Interring and buriall is not performed in the Word of God with preaching*, reading Service over the dead, *singing Scriptures* (*as Papists*) *which tend to superstition*, *&c.* —— The place of buriall with us is not under the Altar, or the place of Assembling (*the Church*) for the Word or Sacraments, as Papists do, but in some publike place, either near the Church, or some inclosed field; because the Jewes buried sometimes in a Cave, *Gen.* 25. 9. sometimes in a Valley, *Deut.* 34. 6. sometimes in a garden, *Joh.* 19. 41. I hope you will not say at *Oxford* that there's *no Christian buriall to be had in Scotland*, because they doe not interre the corps in the Church, or read Service over the dead.

But

But however you'll ſay it muſt be acknowledged that ſinging of Hymnes, and εὐχαριστήριοι ὕμνοι were uſed of old amongſt funerall offices.

To which I anſwere, that the learned Doctor *Uſher* proves out of the Author of the Eccleſiaſticall Hierarchy, that ſuch a Rite could not be obſerved in its pomp and glory unleſſe there had been ſome Biſhop preſent, at whoſe ſacred hands the *dead body might receive as it were a ſacred coronation.*

Dr Vſher his anſwer to the Ieſuites Challenge, upon the Argument of prayer for the dead.

2. The ſinging of Pſalmes, and theſe thankſgiving prayers, are *not ſignes of mourning, but rejoicing:* and how it would have been interpreted at *Oxford* (you may judge) had we ſhewne the leaſt ſigne of rejoicing at the fall of ſuch a ſubtile enemy.

3. In thoſe hymnes and Pſalmes they did expreſſe their confidence, that the deceaſed party was crowned in glory; and of that I have ſaid enough above, to ſhew that I had no ſuch confidence.

ὑμνοῦμεν καὶ δοξάζομεν καὶ εὐχαριστοῦμεν ὅτι λοιπὸν ἐστεφάνωται. *Chryſoſt. Hom. 41. in epiſt. ad Heb.*

But if any of Maſter *Chillingworths Catholike friends at Oxford* ſhould ſpeake out, and tell me that there may (as *Auguſtine* ſaith) be *Petitions* and *Propitiations*, made for men that are *not very bad, after their death*; I will ingenuouſly confeſſe that *Auguſtines* judgment was very *unſetled in this point*, and diverſe of his expreſſions are *inexcuſable:* But to anſwere them according to their folly, if they conceive that Maſter *Chillingworth* was a Martyr for the Catholike cauſe, they will likewiſe acknowledge (as *Auguſtine* in ſundry places doth) that *to frame Petitions for a Martyr after his death, is an injury to the Martyr, and to the cauſe for which he ſuffered.*

If any man doe yet remaine unſatisfied, let him conſider, that had I conceived it fitting to read ſome Service over a dead corps, yet it could not be expected in reaſon and equity that I ſhould performe this laſt office to the body of Maſter *Chillingworth:* For it is well knowne, that long before theſe unnaturall and bloudy warres, *in the times of greateſt compliance*, I never gave Mr *Chillingworth the right hand of fellowſhip*, but did freely and conſtantly proteſt againſt thoſe damnable hereſies, which he did cunningly ſubintroduce & vent in this Kingdom, not onely whileſt he was *a profeſſed Papiſt*, but ſince his *pretended*

ded converſion, (give me leave to call it ſo) you will ſee there is good ground for that *diminiſhing* term, when you come to read the Catechiſm anon. I am not aſhamed to tell the whole *Univerſity*, the whole *Kingdome*, that I never looked upon Maſter *Chillingworth as my brother, in a religious reſpect*, for we were not *men of the ſame Religion, or Communion*: to ſpeak plaine, *we were not members of the ſame Church*, for (as he ſaith truely in his ſubtile booke) *they who differ in Fundamentall points are not members of the ſame Church one with another, any more then Proteſtants are members of the ſame Church with Papiſts*. Chap. 3. Sect. 9. pag. 131.

Finally, it was favour enough to permit Maſter *Chillingworths* diſciples or followers, *the men of his perſwaſion*, to perform this laſt office to their friend and Maſter. Now there was free liberty granted to all the Malignants in the City to attend the Herſe, and interre his corps. Sure I am, that if Mr *Chillingworth* had beene as Orthodoxe and zealous a Preacher as *John* the Baptiſt was, he might have had as honourable a buriall as *John* the Baptiſt had; for all the honour that *John* had, was to be buried by his owne Diſciples, *Matth.* 14. 12. If *the doctrine of this eminent Scholar was heretically, and his Diſciples were Malignants, I am not guilty of that difference.* As devout *Stephen* was carried to his buriall by devout men, ſo is it juſt and equall that Malignants ſhould carry Malignants to their grave. By Malignants I meane ſuch kinde of men *who joyne with the enemy, or are willing upon any occaſion offered to joyne with him, to promote the Antichriſtian Deſigne now on foot*; thoſe, and onely thoſe, I call Malignants. When the Malignants brought his Herſe to the buriall, I met them at the grave with Maſter *Chillingworths* booke in my hand; at the buriall of which booke I conceived it fit to make this little ſpeech following.

A Speech made at the Funerall of Mr *Chillingworths* buriall Booke.

Brethren, it was the earneſt deſire of that eminent Scholar, whoſe body lyes here before you, that his corps might be interred

terred according to the Rites and cuſtoms approved in the Engliſh Liturgy, *and in moſt places of this Kingdom heretofore received: but his ſecond requeſt (in caſe that were denied him) was, that he might be buried in this City, after ſuch a manner as might be obtained, in theſe times of unhappy difference and bloudy warres. His firſt requeſt is denied for many reaſons, of which you cannot be ignorant. It is too well knowne that he was once a profeſſed Papiſt, and a grand ſeducer; he perverted divers perſons of conſiderable* [redacted]*ranke and quality; and I have good cauſe to beleeve that his* [redacted] *to* England, *commonly called his* Converſion, *was but a falſe and* pretended Converſion: *And for my owne part, I am fully convinced that he did not live or dye a genuine Sonne of the Church of England; I retaine the uſuall phraſe, that you may know what I meane; I meane, he was not of that* Faith *or* Religion, which is eſtabliſhed by Law in England. *Hee hath left that* phantaſie, *which he called his Religion, upon record in this* ſubtile booke: *He was not aſhamed to print and publiſh this deſtructive tenet,* That there is no neceſſity of Church or Scripture to make men faithfull men, *in the* 100 *page of this unhappy booke, and therefore I refuſe to bury him my ſelfe; yet let his friends and followers, who have attended his Herſe to this* Golgotha, *know, that they* are permitted, out of meere humanity, to bury their dead out of our ſight. *If they pleaſe to undertake the buriall of his corps, I ſhall undertake to bury his errours, which are publiſhed in this ſo much* admired, *yet* unworthy *booke; and happy would it be for this Kingdome, if this booke and all its fellowes could be ſo buried, that they might never riſe more, unleſſe it were for a confutation; and happy would it have been for the Author, if he had repented of thoſe errours, that they might never riſe for his condemnation; Happy, thrice happy will he be, if his workes doe not follow him, if they doe never riſe with him, nor againſt him.*

Get thee gone then, thou curſed booke, which haſt ſeduced ſo many precious ſoules; get thee gone, thou corrupt rotten booke, earth to earth, and duſt to duſt; get thee gone into the place of rottenneſſe, that thou maiſt rot with thy Author, and ſee corruption. *So much for the buriall of his errours.*

Touching the buriall of his corps, I need say no more then this, It will be most proper for the men of his perſwaſion *to commit the body of their deceaſed Friend, Brother, Maſter, to the duſt, and it will be moſt proper for me to hearken to that counſell of my Saviour, Luk.9.60.* Let the dead bury *their* dead, but go thou and preach the Kingdom of God. *And ſo I went from the grave to the Pulpit, and preached on that Text to the Congregation.*

Some conceive that I ſtudied on purpoſe, to picke out the moſt piercing Text in the Bible; a Text which doth much reflect upon the party deceaſed: but *theſe men erre, not knowing the Scriptures*; for had I uſed that Prayer at Maſter *Chillingworths* grave (which was dictated by the Spirit upon the like occaſion, the fall of a great enemy of *Iſrael, Judges* 5.31.) doubtleſſe that Prayer would have reflected more upon the party deceaſed, and all his ſurviving party: *So let all thine enemies periſh, O Lord, but let them that love thee be as the Sunne when he goes forth in his ſtrength.* They would have beene more diſpleaſed, had I taken that Text, which is applyed to no leſſe a man then the ſonne of *Ioſiah*, by the Prophet *Ieremiah: They ſhall not lament for him ſaying, Ah my brother, or, ah ſiſter, — ah Lord, or ah his glory: He ſhall be buried with the buriall of an aſſe, drawne and caſt forth beyond the gates of Ieruſalem, Ierem.* 22.18,19. Doubtleſſe that man deſerves the buriall of an Aſſe, who beleeves his owne *Reaſon* more then the *God of truth*; he *that dares not condemne*, nay, *admires* thoſe for rationall men, who would *reaſon Chriſt and the holy Ghoſt out of their Godhead, and even diſpute them both out of the Trinity*, doth certainly deſerve the buriall of an Aſſe. *Man is born like a wild aſſes colt*, as ſilly, wild, and coltiſh as the Colt of a wilde Aſſe; and if he prove an old Colt, and periſh by his *Coltiſh trickes*, wonder not at the ſharpe cenſure of the holy Ghoſt. You ſee then there are ſharper Texts then this that I pitched upon for the ground of my diſcourſe.

Secondly, all that underſtand that Text, *Luke* 9.60. will acknowledge, that the Text did reflect rather upon the living, then the dead. But why then was he buried at all? I have told

told you already, his followers were permitted to bury him out of *meere Humanity*. I pleaded for his buriall from that great example recorded at length by the holy Ghoſt, 2 *Sam.* 1. from the eleventh verſe to the end of the chapter. *Saul* you know was forſaken of God long before his death; *the ſpirit of the Lord*, (the excellent gifts and common graces of the Spirit in particular) the ſpirit of government *departed from him*: Moreover, *he conſulted a witch*, and by her the *Devill at Endor*, and an evill ſpirit from the Lord took poſſeſſion of him; yet *Saul* was ſolemnly buried, bewailed, nay extolled by *David* for thoſe things which were lovely in him, as you may read in the place forecited, 17, 21, 24. verſes. And I dare boldly ſay, that I have beene more ſorrowfull for Mr *Chillingworth*, and mercifull to him, then his friends at *Oxford*: his ſickneſſe and obſtinacy coſt me many a prayer, and many a teare. I did heartily bewaile the loſſe of ſuch ſtrong parts, and eminent gifts; the loſſe of ſo much learning and diligence. Never did I obſerve more acuteneſſe and eloquence ſo exactly tempered in the ſame perſon: *Diabolus ab illo ornari cupiebat*; for he had eloquence enough to ſet a faire varniſh upon the fouleſt deſigne. He was maſter of his learning, he had all his arguments *in procinctu*, and all his notions *in numerato*. *Howle ye firre trees, for a Cedar is fallen*: lament ye *Sophiſters*, for the Maſter of ſentences (ſhall I ſay) or fallacies is vaniſhed: wring your hands, and beat your breaſts, *yee Antichriſtian Engineers*, for your Arch-engineer is dead, and all his Engines buried with him. Ye daughters of *Oxford* weep over *Chillingworth*, for he had a conſiderable and hopefull project how to clothe you and himſelfe in ſcarlet, *and other delights*. *I am diſtreſſed for thee, my brother* Chillingworth, (may his Executrix ſay) *very pleaſant haſt thou beene unto me, thy love to me was wonderfull, paſſing the love of* father, husband, brother. *O how are the mighty fallen, and the weapons*, nay engines *of warre periſhed! O tell it not in Gath*, that he who raiſed a battery againſt the Popes chaire, that he might *place Reaſon in the chaire in ſtead of Antichriſt*, is dead and gone: *publiſh it not in the ſtreets of Askelon*, that he who did at once batter

batter *Rome*, and undermine *England*, the Reforming Church of *England*, that he might prevent a Reformation, is dead; leſt if you publiſh it, you puzzle all the Conclave, and put them to conſider, whether they ſhould mourne or triumph.

If any man enquire, whether he hath a *Tombe-ſtone*, as well as an *Elegy*, let him know that we plundered an old Friar of his *Tombe-ſtone*, and there is roome enough for an *Epitaph* if they pleaſe to ſend one from *Oxford*; if not, give us leave to ſay, we have provided a *Sepulchre*, and it is your fault if you doe not provide a *Monument*: for as *Laurentius Valla* the maſter of Elegances obſerves, a Monument is nothing elſe but a ſpeaking Sepulchre: *Vixque Monumentum dixerim, niſi literæ aut alii tituli appareant, quæ ſi deſint, magis ſepulchrum quàm monumentum erit.* Laur. Vall. Elegant. lib. 4. cap. 75.

If there be any man yet unſatisfied, that this great Philoſopher, Mathematician, Oratour (and any thing but what he pretended to be, *a Divine*) hath had no more honour at his death, then *a plaine Tombe-ſtone*, and ſuch *a ſong of lamentation* as was taken up for *Saul*, let him read this following *Catechiſme*; and if he be either Papiſt, or Proteſtant, he will be ſatisfied, if he be true to his owne principles.

A Prophane Catechiſme, collected out of Mr *Chilling worths* Works.

Queſtion.

HOw ſhall I be able to prove to an Atheiſt, that there is a God, and that the Books of the Old and New Teſtament are the word of God?

Anſw. When Proteſtants affirme againſt Papiſts, that Scripture is a perfect rule of Faith; their meaning is not, that

that by Scripture all things Absolutely may be proved, which are to be beleeved; for it can never bee proved by Scripture to a gain-sayer, that there is a God, or that the Book called Scripture is the word of God—— for (as he saith a little before) nothing is proved true by being said or written in a Book, but only by Tradition, which is a Thing credible of it selfe, chap. 1. p. 55. Sect. 8. the first Edition approved at *Oxford*.

Doubtlesse the Atheists and Papists will give him hearty thanks for this answer, which doth preferre Tradition (which the Atheist vilifies) before Scripture, which the Papists vilifie: he hath pleased them both. * The Papists will bee well pleased to see this doctrine licensed by the Protestants of the University of *Oxford*, that Tradition is more credible then Scripture, for Tradition is credible *for it selfe*; but the Scripture, when it is to be proved a perfect Rule *to us*, is credible *only by Tradition* in Mr *Chillingworths* conceit, pag. 96. and where shall we meet with this universall Tradition?

2. But I finde another answer, pag. 53. **Tradition may be helped out by naturall Reason.** Controversies, wherein the Scripture it selfe is the subject of the question, cannot be determined, saith Mr *Chillingworth*, but by *Naturall* Reason, the only principle, beside Scripture, which is common to Christians, cap. 2. sect. 3. And in his marginall observations on a passage of Mr *Hookers* he layes downe this as a Rule; *Naturall* Reason then built on principles common to all men, is the *last Resolution*, pag. 65. Nay, Reason is in some sort *Gods word*, see his answer to the Preface, pag. 21. How then (will the Atheist say) is Reason credible for it selfe, since (Mr *Chillingworth* saith) that Gods word is not credible for it selfe? Surely these answers will never bring a man to divine faith; for to rely upon Tradition, is but to rely upon *Humane* testimony; and such as the testimony is, such is the faith: if the testimony, which is the ground of faith, be *humane*, then the faith cannot be *divine*. Againe, naturall Reason is not infallible, nor is it able to judge of truths which are above Reason: now it is cleare, that supernaturall truths are

above naturall Reason. Finally, faith is not grounded upon Reason, but upon Authority.

He gives a third answer, chap. 1. pag. 36. **God hath confirmed the doctrine of the Scripture by miracles**; but then he saith, we have nothing to assure us of the truth of those miracles, but Tradition; and therefore we are not got one steppe nearer faith or Heaven by that shift: and if he flie back to Reason, then consider what he saith, pag. 117. God hath no where commanded men to beleeve all that Reason induceth them to beleeve.

Qu. *But if this great point must be tried by Reason, what Reason can you produce, to proove the Scripture to be the word of God?*

An. **There is as good reason for it, as there is to beleeve other stories or matters of Tradition**: He requires men to yeeld just such a *kinde* or *degree* of assent to the Gospel of Christ, as they yeeld to other stories or matters of Tradition, chap. 1. pag. 37. for God desires us only to beleeve the conclusion as much as the premises deserve, ib. sect. 8. p. 36. And the Chronicle of *England*, joyned with the generall tradition of our acquaintance, deserves as much credit in Mr *Chillingworths* conceit, as the Gospel of Christ; for his words are these, chap. 2. sect. 159. p. 116. 117. Wee have, I beleeve, *as great reason* to beleeve there was such a man as *Henry* the eighth King of *England*, as that Jesus Christ suffered under *Pontius Pilate*. The Lord rebuke that spirit of errour, which moved the great men of *Oxford* to license this blasphemy! What have I no more reason to beleeve the three persons in the holy Trinity, speaking in their *glorious Gospel* to my *heart* and *conscience*, then I have to beleeve *Stowes Chronicle*, or the *generall tradition* of my owne acquaintance, or some such other fallible testimony?

Qu. *But what if I cannot be assured, that any part of the Scripture is the word of God, may I be saved without beleeving this weighty point?*

An. **Yes**, saith Mr *Chillingworth*, chap. 2. sect. 159. **if a man should beleeve Christian Religion wholly and entirely,**

and

and live according to it, such a man though he should not know, or not beleeve the Scripture to be a Rule of faith, no nor to be the word of God; my opinion is he may be saved. Excellent Divinity indeed! what, is not this a principle of Christianity, that Scripture is the word of God, and rule of faith? and if it be, how then is it possible for a man to beleeve the Christian Religion wholly and entirely, and yet not beleeve this principle? **Yes, I may beleeve the Scripture as I doe Augustins works,** pag. 114.

Qu. *But if I am assured that some Scripture is the word of God, how shall I know what books are Canonicall, and what not?*

An. **By universall Tradition.** I must receive those books for Canonicall, of whose Authority there was never any doubt or question in the Church, pag. 148. I may then, it seems, doubt of the Epistle of *James*, the second of *Peter*, the second and third Epistles of *John*, the Epistle to the *Hebrewes*, the Epistle of *Jude*, the book of the *Revelation*, the books of *Job*, *Esther*, *Ecclesiastes*, &c. He saith, he cannot in reason so undoubtedly beleeve those books to be Canonicall, which have beene questioned, as those which were never questioned. At least I have no warrant to damne any man— that *shall deny* them *now*, having the example of Saints in Heaven, either *to justifie* or excuse such— *their deniall*, chap. 2. sect. 38. pag. 67. Surely here is a pretty *tempting* excuse for, if not a justification of those Libertines who question these books, and may upon Mr *Chillingworths* principles question all the rest, if they acknowledge one of the *Gospels*, that containes as much as all the rest; Ergo that is sufficient, pag. 93. 101.

But if they beleeve no booke to be Canonicall, and therefore will not assent to any book of Scripture, they doe not commit a sinne of derogation from Gods perfect and pure veracity; for he onely gives God the lye, who denies some book or point *which he himselfe knowes or beleeves to be revealed by God*, chap. 3. sect. 15, 16, 17. Now it is impossible that a man should know one thing to be true, and beleeve the contrary; or know it and

not beleeve it, ſect. 18. Whither theſe and the like principles (which frequently occurre in his writings) tend, let the moſt ſober and charitable men judge. The only Fundamentall Errour in Mr *Chillingworths* judgement, is to deny ſomething which the party himſelfe knowes or beleeves to be revealed by God: and therefore in his judgement none but downe-right Atheiſts erre fundamentally, cap. 2. p. 135. 136. Atheiſme then, as the Jeſuites and Arminians conceive, is the formality of an Heretick, p. 100. for it is down-right Atheiſme for any man to deny that to be true, which he acknowledges to be ſpoken by the God of truth.

Qu. *But if I doe beleeve the Scripture to be Gods word, is it neceſſary to beleeve that controverſies are to be decided by that Word?*

An. **No**, ſaith Mr *Chillingworth*, **this is no Fundamentall point**; his words are full. I ſay that this *poſition* (Scripture alone is the rule whereby they which beleeve it to bee Gods word, are to judge all controverſies in faith) *is no Fundamentall point*, chap. 2. pag. 115. His intent is by this aſſertion to make good a dreame of his, that ſome controverſies in faith need not be judged or determined at all. Mr *Chillingworth* pretends, that he holds the Scripture to be a perfect rule of faith, and yet he ſaith it is not neceſſary to judge all controverſies (and thoſe no ſmall ones, becauſe they are controverſies) in faith by that perfect rule. It is a perfect rule, but we need not be ruled by it in all points of faith.

Qu. *But is there then any other way to decide controverſies which hath any colour of probability from the Scripture?*

An. **Yes**: nine or ten ſeverall meanes of agreement offered themſelves to Mr *Chillingworth* upon the ſudden, (and haply more might have beene thought on if he had had time) and theſe that are offered, have as much probability *from Scripture*, as that which Papiſts obtrude upon us. And truly he was ſuch a *ready* blaſphemer, that he could vent *extemporary blaſphemies*; yet ſuch as the Licentious men at *Oxford* approved. chap. 3. pag. 130. 131.

Firſt he ſaith, *we could, if we would, try it by lots*, whoſe Doctrine

ctrine is true, and whose false; for which he cites *Prov.* 16. 33. It may be, this Sophister did cast lots for his Religion, and it was his hard lot to draw Popery first, then Arminianisme, and then his doctrine run lower and lower, till it came almost to the very dregs of Socinianisme.

Secondly, *we could referre it to the King*, *Prov* 16. 10. and 21. 1. Mr *Chillingworth* might make merry with his owne *prophane* doctrine, but I admire that he should dare to sport himselfe with the *Majesty of Scripture*, and the Majesty of the King: But truly I am afraid, that some are so indifferent in point of Religion, that they are content not only to referre it to the King, but to *the Queene*. It were proper for them to vent such Doctrine, who have, as the old Tradition and proverbe hath it, taken an *oath* to be of the *Kings Religion*.

Thirdly, *to an Assembly of Christians assembled in the name of Christ*, *Math.* 18.20. Let them not then blame the Parliament for consulting an Assembly of learned and pious Christians, and most of them Ministers of the Gospel, assembled in the name of Christ.

Fourthly, *to any Priest*, *Malach.* 2.7. This makes well of the Queens side.

Fifthly, *to any Preacher of the Gospel*, *Pastour*, *or Doctour*, *Math.* 28. 20. Sure Mr *Chillingworth* was more independent then they that are commonly so called.

Sixthly, *to any Bishop or Prelate* (why not then to the Bishop of *Rome?*) for it is written, Obey your Prelates, *Heb.* 13. 17. Mr *Chillingworth* since his pretended conversion was very apt to be seduced by the vulgar (or Rhemish) translation, or some version received at Saint *Omers*; but this was a voluntary and devised meanes, as he saith in the same page.

Seventhly, *to any particular Church of Christians, seeing it is a particular Church, which is called the house of God, a pillar and ground of truth*, 1 *Tim.* 3.15. *and seeing of any particular Church it is written*, He that heareth not the Church, let him be unto thee an Heathen, *Matth.* 18. Mr *Chillingworth* is sometimes *Prelaticall*, and sometimes *Congregationall*.

Eighthly, *we might referre it to any man that prayes for Gods*

 spirit;

ſpirit; for it is written, every one that asketh, receives, (this is one ſteppe beyond the Browniſts) *Matth.* 7.8. *James* 1.5.

Laſtly, *we might referre it to the Jewes, for without all doubt of them it is written*, My ſpirit that is in thee, &c. *Iſaiah* 59.21. And why not to the Socinians? they have naturall reaſon, a very competent Judge in Mr *Chillingworths* conceit. What wonder is it that ſo many blaſphemies and quibbles (*for every quibble upon Scripture is a blaſphemy*) ſhould be licenſed by grave and learned Profeſſours of Divinity? what if Papiſts take liberty to blaſpheme and put the Scripture upon the rack to force it to confeſſe what makes for their turn; muſt Proteſtants or ſuch a one who undertakes the common Cauſe of Proteſtants (though he was no Proteſtant) bee permitted to blaſpheme by the Licence of an Univerſity? Repent deare Doctors, once more repent; and I will proceed.

Qu. *But how ſhall I know the true ſenſe of Scripture, there being ſuch variety of conceits which paſſe for Interpretations?*

Anſw. **Here help mee Reaſon again and Implicit Faith.** For, the laſt Reſolution of my Faith in his conceit muſt be into Reaſon, page 65. 96. and ſtill he labours to prove that *Reaſon* is Judge; and he frequently jeares at *Knox* for accounting it an abſurdity for every man and woman *to rely upon their Reaſon* in the interpreting of Scripture p. 98. Reaſons drawn out of the circumſtances of the Text cannot convince me, unleſſe I judge of them by my Reaſon; and for every man or woman to rely on that — in the interpreting of Scripture, you ſay is an horrible abſurdity. And p. 99. Reaſon will ſhew this to be the meaning: yes, if we may uſe our Reaſon, *and rely upon it*. Proteſtants *uſe* their reaſon, but Socinians *rely* upon their reaſon. And he teaches implicit faith all along his book: Proteſtants, ſaith he, do agree with an *Implicit faith* in that ſenſe of the whole Scripture which God intended, *whatſoever it was*, p 129.130 cap. 5. ſect. 3. a ready way to tempt men to beleeve very little concerning the ſenſe of Scripture: for, men will be apt to ſay, that the ſenſe of this and the other place of Scripture is not plainly and fully reveal'ed, and Mr *Chillingworth* doth not require

require any thing to be beleeved with an explicit faith which is not plainly and undoubtedly delivered in Scripture. My reaſon (ſaith he) is convincing and demonſtrative, becauſe nothing is neceſſary to be beleeved, but what is plainly revealed, p. 92. But nothing in his judgement is plainly revealed about any point which is called in queſtion, *if there be a ſeeming conflict* of Scripture with Scripture, Reaſon with Reaſon, Authority with Authority; in ſuch a caſe he cannot well underſtand how it can be truly ſayd, that God hath manifeſtly revealed the truth on either ſide, chap. 3. ſect. 9. p. 136. 137. Well, but admit that the appearances on my ſide are anſwerable, and grant that Scripture, Reaſon, Authority, are all againſt me, becauſe on the other ſide; yet conſider the ſtrange power of *Education* and *Prejudices* inſtilled by it, and what *Paſſions* I am ſubject to, and then my errour is unavoydable, and therfore excuſable; for though the truth is *in it ſelfe* revealed plainly enough, yet to *ſuch a one* as I am, *prepoſſeſt* with contrary opinions, the truth in that point is not plainly revealed, read page 137. Sure the corruption of our Nature is as unavoydable as prejudices and paſſions, and therefore he muſt (according to his principles) conclude that *God who knowes whereof we are made, will not enter into judgement with us for thoſe things which (all things conſidered) were unavoydable*; they are his own words page 137. Nay, beſides *education, prejudices, and paſſions, inadvertence* may in the fourth place excuſe us if we diſ-beleeve a plain Revelation. Finally, in the fift place, multitude of buſineſſe, diſtractions, hinderances, will excuſe us, and hinder God from imputing our errours to us as ſinnes. In his anſwer to the preface p 19. I am verily perſwaded that God will not impute errours to them as ſinnes, who uſe ſuch a meaſure of induſtry in finding truth, as *humane prudence and ordinary diſcretion* (their abilities and opportunities, their diſtractions and hinderances, and all other things conſidered) (he will be ſure to give liberty enough) ſhall adviſe them unto in a matter of ſuch conſequence. But certainly humane prudence and ordinary diſcretion will teach men to plead theſe excuſes, which he hath framed for them, when any point of faith ſhall be preſſed upon them;

them; they will ſay, our opportunities are few, our diſtractions and hinderances many, our education meane, our abilities weake, our prejudices ſtrong, our paſſions violent, our inadvertence pardonable, and therefore we will content our ſelves *with a modeſt humble implicite faith*; we beleeve the whole Scripture to be true, in that ſenſe which God intended, *whatſoever it was*, but we have not time to *ſearch*, or *ability to judge what it was*: if we beleeve nothing explicitely, or to disbeleeve a clear revelation, that revelation, though cleare in it ſelfe, is not *cleare to us*, our errour (the corruption of our nature, our prejudices, contrary opinions, with which we are already prepoſſeſt, and all other things conſidered) is unavoidable, and therefore God will never impute it to us as a ſinne. Whither theſe Principles tend, let the pretended Parliament at *Oxford* judge.

Qu. *But are we not bound to heare what the Church will ſay to us for our direction in weighty points?*

Anſ. **I muſt beléeve the Church in every thing ſhe proves, either by Scripture, Reaſon, or univerſall Tradition, be it Fundamentall, or bée it not Fundamentall**, pag 149. Theſe disjunctives ſeem to imply that ſomething fundamentall may be proved by Reaſon, or univerſall Tradition, which cannot be proved by Scripture. The Licencers may do well to declare what that Fundamentall point is, or how many there are, if there be more then one: I may go to Heathens, I need not go to the Church for any thing which Reaſon teaches, the Philoſophers can ſufficiently inſtruct me; and if what the Church teaches be finally reſolved into my owne reaſon, as he affirmes p. 96. **then I do not beléeve either God or the Church, but my own reaſon**: By you (ſaith Maſter *Chillingworth* to *Knot*) as well as by Proteſtants, all is *finally reſolved into your owne reaſon*, Sect. 115. cap. 2. Sure I am then that ſuch Proteſtants and Jeſuites are in their *high-way to pure Socinianiſme*, and therefore it is no marvell if ſome Jeſuites have been ſuch *Anti-Trinitarians* as Maſter *Chillingworth* pleads in his owne defence. Preface and Anſwer to the directions to *N. N.* Sect. 16, 17, 18, &c. the Church hath loſt the interpretation of obſcure places, pag. 56 and plaine places need no expoſition at all.

Qu. *But*

Qu. *But what if the Church erre?*

Anſ. **Then a man may learne of that ſelf ſame Church** (which taught him) **to confute the errours of that Church:** that is, I may learne to confute the *erroneous concluſions* of that Church, by thoſe very *rules* and principles which that Church *teaches*, Chap 3. ſect. 40. p. 150. Firſt then, a *private* man is preſumed to have more *Logicke* then that *teaching* Church. Secondly, the Prelates (who call themſelves the Church) may give my brethren of the Aſſembly leave to confute their erroneous concluſions, by ſome rules and principles which they themſelves have delivered. Thirdly, a man may learne of the Church how to teach the Church. Principles which lead to theſe harſh truths, being licenced at *Oxford*, are an argument to me that they approved this booke before they read it.

Qu. *But how ſhall we doe then to finde out the true Church, and the true Religion?*

Anſ. **For commands to ſeek the Church I have not yet met with any**; and I beleeve (ſaith he to *Knot*) you (if you were to ſhew them) would be your ſelf to ſeek. Cap. 3. Sect. 41. p. 150. And for Religion, how little paines or care we are to take about it, hath been already ſhewed.

Q. *But which muſt a man chuſe firſt, his Religion, or his Church?*

Anſ. **Every man is to iudge for himſelf with the iudgment of diſcretion,** (which he calls humane prudence, and ordinary diſcretion, in the place of his Anſwer to the preface fore-cited, p. 19.) **and to chuſe either his religion firſt, & then his Church,** as Maſter *Chillingworth* ſaith; or as *Knot*, his Church firſt, and then his Religion, pag. 57. Every man then is Judge, the Scripture (for faſhions ſake) he calls the rule, but he makes every mans naturall reaſon the rule, to judge whether ſuch a Text be the Word of God, and then what is the ſenſe of that Text; *and ſo all is ſtill finally reſolved into our owne reaſon*, into humane prudence, and ordinary diſcretion; for Tradition is a principle, not in Chriſtianity, but in *Reaſon*; nor proper to Chriſtians, but common to all men, p. 72. cap. 2. ſect. 51. Come away then to the Schoole of *Socrates*, for this is juſt, *ſit anima mea cum Philoſophis*. Read from the 9 \ to the 100 page. I will

advise with God and that Reason he hath given me, page 158. he adored God and Reason.

Qu. *But is it not possible for men to become* faithfull *without either Church or Scripture?*

Ans. **Yes, by the works of God without us, and the Law of God written in us by Nature.**

Either of these wayes might make some faithfull men without either necessity of Scripture or Church, ch. 2. sect. 124. p. 100

Qu. *What is Faith?*

Ans. **It is the Assent of our Understandings.**

Qu. *Are not the Essentiall Doctrines of Christianity to bee embraced with our will?*

An. **The assent of our understandings is required to them, but no obedience from our wills,** chap. 4. sect. 2. p. 193.

Qu. *What are these Essentiall doctrines of Christianity?*

Ans. **I do not know.**

Qu. *Do you not know what ye are to believe? Or, cannot the church tell what these necessary Truths called the Essentiall and Fundamentall parts of Christianity are?*

Answ. No, there's no such Church that Mr. Chillingworth was ever acquainted with. **We are not to learn of the Church what is fundamentall.** cap. 7. sect. 39.

Qu. *What doth Mr* Chillingworth *think Fundamentall?*

Ans. **All points which are intrinsecall to the Covenant between God and man.** page 193. cap. 4. sect. 3.

Qu. *What are these points?*

Ans. **Repentance from dead works, and faith in Christ Jesus the sonne of God,** (oh that he would have confessed him to be God) **and Saviour of the world: this is all that is simply necessary,** pag. 159.

Qu. *What is it to beleeve in Christ?*

Answ. **It is to expect remission of sinnes, and salvation from him upon the performance of the conditions he requires,** p. 134. Observe more conditions beside faith required to Iustification 2. No mention made of Christs performance, but ours. 3. No mention of free grace: it runs like a Covenant of works.

Qu. *What are these conditions?*

Answ.

Answ. One is, that we believe what God hath revealed, when it is sufficiently declared to have beene revealed by him. You have had the English of that already, read pag. 134.

Qu. *Is it simply necessary to salvation to believe in Christ?*

Ans. It is simply necessary for them to whom faith in Christ is sufficiently propounded, as necessary to salvation, p. 134.

He will wrangle with you if you say faith in Christ is sufficiently propounded to Iewes, Turks, Heathens: for observe that he presently addes in the selfe same page, That may be sufficiently declared to one (all things considered) which (all things considered) to another is not sufficiently declared, and consequently that may be Fundamentall and necessary to one, which to another is not so. *In his conceit then it is not necessary for some mens salvation, that they should believe in Christ.* And it hath beene formerly observed, that some men (as he conceived) might be made faithfull men without necessity of Church or Scripture. Finally, in the 133 page he saith expressly, that *Cornelius* was but a meere Gentile, one that believed not in Christ, and knew not *but men* might *be worshipped*; and yet we are assured, that his prayers and almes, even whilst he was *in that estate*, were accepted. Ergo in his judgement a *meere Heathen* and an *Idolater* may have accesse to God in prayer, and be accepted without the mediation of our only Mediator the *Lord Iesus, God blessed for ever*. But the truth is, *Cornelius* was a Proselyte, instructed in the Iewish Religion, who believed in the Messiah, and that faith was sufficient for his acceptance, before the Gospel of Christ was preached unto him. The prayers and almes of idolatrous Heathens (who know not but they may worship men) cannot be accepted without faith in Christ: nor do their prayers and almes please God so well, as that for them or by them they should *be promoted to a higher degree of knowledge, the knowledge of Christ, that so they may be saved by Christ*: for what is this, but to deserve a Saviour, which is *meritum de congruo* at least? nay, let the *Licensers* consider, *whether to deserve Christ, be not more then to deserve Heaven*. Moreover, he is much mistaken, when he saith, that they who never heard of Christ, may seek God as to please him,

and that they ſhall be rewarded for their ſeeking of him with the knowledge of the Goſpell or faith in Chriſt; for he who doth not ſeek God in and by Chriſt our only Mediatour, doth not come to God, but runs quite beſide him: to ſuch a carnall ſeeking God never yet promiſed ſuch a ſpirituall reward. Conſider that of the Apoſtle *Rom.* 9. 30, 31, 32, 33. and the next chapter, the ſecond and third verſes. That text *Hebr.* 11. 6. ſhould be compared with, and expounded by *Iohn* 14. 6. and then it will be evident that no man can ſeek ſo as to finde him, or come to him after an acceptable manner, unleſſe he ſeek God in, and come to him by Ieſus Chriſt, who is the *way*, the *truth*, and the *life*, the true way to eternall life. I haſten to the next queſtion.

Qu. *What other Condition is there of the Covenant beſides beleeving?*

Anſw. **Repentance of ſinne, and obedience to Chriſt; for God is a puniſher of them that obſtinately offend him; therefore repentance of ſinne is neceſſary, and Ieſus Chriſt is the ſonne of God and Saviour of the world, by obedience to whom men muſt look to be ſaved,** p. 101. Mark, he doth not ſay, *by whoſe obedience* men muſt be juſtified, and yet this is the faireſt confeſſion that I can meet with: I read often of our obedience to Chriſt, but I never read any thing yet in Mr *Chillingworths* book, of *Chriſts obedience imputed to us; now it is the imputation of Chriſts obedience to us, and Gods free pardon of our diſobedience, which make the covenant appeare to be a covenant of grace.*

Qu. *What is repentance?*

Anſw. **An univerſall ſorrow for all thoſe ſinnes which we know we have committed, and which we feare we may have committed.** Anſwer to the Preface *p.* 20. If we have beene betrayed into, or kept in errour by any ſin of our will, if that errour be diſcovered, there muſt be a *particular and explicite* repentance of that errour; if it be not diſcovered, then a *generall and implicite repentance* for all ſinnes knowne and unknown doth ſuffice, *Ib. p.* 21. Obſerve that he ſaith nothing of the *hatred of ſinne, or the forſaking of* ſinne, in which the *life* and power of repentance doth conſiſt. *A man may live and die in his ſinnes and be ſaved by an univerſall ſorrow.* Men are damned,

ſaith

faith he, who die in wilfull errours *without repentance*; but what *if they die in their errours with reventance?* Answer to the Preface *p.* 20. That is a contradiction, saith the Iesuit, and he saith true; but it appeares by that speech, that Master *Chillingworth* conceived *that an universall sorrow for sinne without any hatred of, or turning from sinne, was saving repentance.*

Qu. *What other condition is required in the Covenant between God and man in Christ?*

Answ. Sincere obedience. Answer to the Preface, *p.* 18. This indeed is the prime condition he meanes, when he saith *p.* 134. *That to beleeve in Christ, is to expect remission of sinnes from Christ upon the conditions he requires.* This is pure *Socinianisme*, to beleeve that we shall be pardoned upon our obedience, or as the *Socinians* expresse it, and justified (according to the Covenant) by *our owne obedience*; not as we say, *by the obedience of Christ*, and freely pardoned *for the al sufficient satisfaction of Christ, made in our stead, and put upon our account.* Besides, if a man neglect never so many duties, live in never so many errors, and commit never so many grosse sinnes, he conceives that an Implicite Faith and a generall Repentance of all sinnes knowne and unknowne, are sufficient Antidotes, and his Obedience shall passe for sincere Obedience; as you may clearly see in those places which have beene already alleadged. If a man be not convinced that Christ is God, (by his principles) an Implicit Faith and generall Repentance will serve the turne, though that truth hath beene sufficiently propounded to him, and it is meerly his own fault that he is not convinced, for in his conceit as long as this man remains (as he saith) unconvinced (but as we say, obstinate) so long he doth not derogate any thing from Gods veracity or truth. His words are these. But if the proposall be only so sufficient, not, that the party (to whom it is made) is convinced, but only that he *should*, & *but for his own fault would* have beene convinced of the divine verity of the doctrine proposed. The crime then is not so great, *for the beliefe of Gods veracity may well consist with such an errour.* Yet a fault I confesse it is, and without Repentance, damnable, if all circumstances considered (that is, mens passions, hindrances, &c. consi-

dered as above ſaid) the propoſall be ſufficient, *p.* 18. of his anſwer to the Preface. Now what he meanes by repentance hath beene ſhewen, a generall ſorrow for all ſinnes knowne and unknowne; *ſuch a repentance as will conſiſt with a mans obſtinate denyall of a truth, for he may die in this errour with Maſter* Chillingworths *repentance, and neither the errour nor the obſtinacie ſhall be imputed to him, becauſe he is ſorry for he knowes not what*, and remained unconvinced of his errour, though it was meerly his owne fault that he was not convinced. This is a ready way to ſave *Iewes, Turkes, Socinians, Papiſts Infidels, and all*; for he doth meerly retaine the names of faith, repentance, ſincere obedience, without the ſubſtance, life, and power of them. The Faith he talkes of, leaves the will at liberty: he ſtarts at the Apoſtles phraſe, *the obedience of faith*. You (ſaith he to *Knot*) ſay there is ſome *merit* in faith, we ſome obedience in it, which can *hardly have place where there is no poſſibility of diſobedience*, as there is not, where the underſtanding doth all, and the will nothing, *p.* 329. Sure I am, the Devill hath ſuch a faith, *an aſſent without obedience*; his faith is no faith, becauſe grounded meerly upon probabilities; he only ſaith that the precepts of Chriſtianity are moſt likely to come from God *p. 36. chap. 2.* but the Spirit of God being implored by devout and humble prayer, and ſincere obedience, may and will by degrees advance his ſervants to an higher certainty, *p.* 36. 37. But this certainty is a reward given to beleevers; ſo then men are beleevers before the Spirit gives them any certainty that the Chriſtian religion did proceed from the fountaine of goodneſſe: Now he who only beleeves the Chriſtian religion of all other religions to *be moſt likely* to be true, is not *very likely* to implore the Spirit *very earneſtly* either by prayer or obedience; for who will obey the precepts of Chriſtianity till he be aſſured that they and the promiſes are divine? But ſaith Maſter *Chillingworth*, men may talke their pleaſure of an abſolute and moſt infallible certainty, but did they generally beleeve that obedience to Chriſt were the only way (marke that, the onely way) to preſent, and eternall felicity, *but as firmly and undoubtedly* as that there is ſuch a City as *Conſtantinople*, nay but as much as *Cæſars*

Commentaries,

Commentaries, or the Hiſtory of Saluſt; I beleeve the lives of moſt men, both Papiſts and Proteſtants would be better then they are, *chap. 6. pag.* 327. Sure Chriſts obedience for us is the way to happineſſe, therefore our obedience is not the only way. 2. It is certaine that all true Proteſtants do beleeve the Goſpel more firmly then (*Cæſars Commentaries* or *Saluſt*) prophane Hiſtories. 3. Such a Faith as this will not implore the Spirit by devout and humble prayer, or by ſincere obedience. 4. I appeale to all indifferent men what kind of obedience is like to ſpring from an implicite faith in unſanctified reaſon; a faith that is a bare aſſent without obedience, the faith of Devils, not the faith of Chriſtians. 5. The repentance of obſtinate men, (I meane in *ſenſu compoſito*, as Maſter *Chillingworth* means) a generall ſorrow which he cals repentance (that is, humiliation without reformation) repentance of ſinnes which I love and live in and damnable errours which I die in, is not that repentance from dead works which Chriſt requires; ſure Hereſie in the language of the Apoſtle is a work of the fleſh, and therefore as dead a work as any other; we may then ſafely conclude (*that an implicite faith in unſanctified reaſon or fallible tradition*, and a generall ſorrow for I know not what ſinnes and errors (though groſſe enough for to be known) ſuch ſinnes and errours as the party doth love, live, and die in, and never ſo much as confeſſe to be ſinnes or errours, becauſe he is ſo obſtinate that he will not be convinced of them) I ſay, ſafely conclude, that this *faith and this ſorrow are both unchriſtian if not Antichriſtian.* He that hath an *implicite faith* in his *owne unſanctified* reaſon makes himſelfe *a Pope.* Sanctified reaſon ſees but in part, and therefore unſanctified reaſon is ſpiritually blind, it cannot ſee any thing which is ſpiritually diſcerned. Beſides, I feare that he conceived there was ſome merit of congruity *in the ſame* obedience of this *blind* beleever, becauſe he ſaith the *ſincere obedience* of *ſuch* a beleever *doth implore the Spirit.* Now whether a man that relies upon his owne reaſon, and his owne obedience, inſtead of relying upon Gods authority and Chriſts obedience, can be ſaved by the Covenant of Grace, let all true Chriſtians judge.

Qu.

Qu. *What other condition is required of us?*

Anſw. **A true, ſincere and cordiall love of God.** Anſwer to the Preface, *p.* 20.

Qu. *How may a man be raiſed to this love?*

Anſw. **By the conſideration of Gods moſt infinite goodneſſe to us, and our own** almoſt **infinite wickednеſſe againſt him, Gods Spirit** cooperating **with us, may raiſe us to a true, ſincere and a cordiall love of God.** in the ſame page.

Qu. *Wherein doth this infinite goodneſſe of God manifeſt it ſelfe?*

Anſw. **1. In creating us of nothing. 2. In creating us after his own image. 3. In creating all things for our uſe and benefit. 4. In ſtreaming downe his favours on us every moment of our lives. 5. In deſigning us,** if we ſerve him, **to infinite and eternall happineſſe. 6. In redeeming us with the pretious bloud of his beloved Sonne. 7. By his patience towards us in expecting our converſion. 8. In woing, alluring, leading, and by all meanes (which his wiſdome can ſuggeſt unto him, and mans nature is capable of) drawing them to repentance and ſalvation.**

I have picked out the marrow of his notions the beſt Divinity his works afford, but obſerve. 1. We are (ſaith he) deſigned to eternall happineſſe *if we ſerve God*; which is perfect Popery, ſhall I ſay, or Socinianiſme? here is a conditionall decree, and the condition is works. 2. God expects our converſion, I thought he had effected our converſion; if God ſtay till we will turne off our ſelves *or cooperate with his Spirit in the firſt act of our converſion*, we ſhall never be converted. Sure I am, this Implicite faith grounded on unſanctified reaſon, and fallible tradition, will rather *reſiſt*, then *cooperate* with the holy Spirit. The Scripture tels us that we do never love God in good earneſt till we doe beleeve Gods love to us: compare the 16. and 19. verſes of the 1 *Iohn* 4. And faith is not *wrought in us by our cooperation with the Spirit* but by the Almighty power of God who quickens us whom he finds dead in treſpaſſes and ſinnes unto a lively faith; as is evident in the two firſt chapters of the Epiſtle to the *Epheſians*.

Qu. *Is it poſſible for a man that lives and dies a Papiſt to be ſaved?*

Anſw.

Anſ. **Yes very poſſible in the iudgement of Maſter Chillingworth.** 1, Becauſe the Papiſts do not erre in Fundamentals *chap. 3. Sect. 56. pag. 164.* For the only and main reaſon (ſaith he) why we beleeve you not to erre in Fundamentals is your holding the Doctrine of Faith in Chriſt and Repentance. The *worſt* ſort of Papiſts who have means to find the Truth, but will not uſe them, may be ſaved if they die with a generall repentance for all their ſinnes knowne and unknowne, becauſe the Truths which they hold of Faith in Chriſt, and repentance are as it were an Antidote againſt their errours, and their negligence in ſeeking the truth. Eſpecially, ſeeing by confeſſion of both ſides we agree in *much more* then is *ſimply* and indiſpenſably neceſſary to ſalvation, *Chap. 3. Sect. 32. pag. 133.* And truly I doe beleeve if the worſt of Papiſts, and the worſt of Proteſtants did agree in fewer things then they doe, there would be more hope of the ſalvation of Papiſts.

Qu. *What is the beſt way to bring Papiſts and Proteſtants into one communion?*

Anſ. **The framing and propoſing of a Liturgy which both ſides hold lawfull, p. 132.** This was perchance the great ſtratagem aimed at in the framing of that Liturgy which was ſent into *Scotland*; and this is a point which deſerves the conſideration of the pretended Parliament or Aſſembly at *Oxford*.

Qu. *Is the Spirit abſolutely promiſed to the ſucceſſion of Biſhops?*

Anſw. *No*: for many of them have beene notoriouſly and confeſſedly wicked men, men of the world: whereas this Spirit is the Spirit of truth, whom the world cannot receive, becauſe he ſeeth him not, neither knowes him, *p. 146, 147.* Whether this be not as true of ſome Popiſh Prelats in *England*, as of the Biſhops of *Rome*, let the learned determine.

Qu. *What if a Church maintaine an errour contrary to Gods Revelation knowne by that Church to be a divine Revelation?*

Anſ. **The Church that doth ſo is no longer a Church. p. 137.**

Qu. *Doth not Maſter* Chillingworth *ſometimes contradict him-*

himſelfe, and call the Roman Church the Catholique Church.

Anſw. He ſeemes to do ſo, *p.* 122. His words are theſe: **We beleeve the Catholique Church cannot periſh, yet that ſhe may, and did erre in points not Fundamentall; and that Protestants were obliged to forſake theſe errors of her Church,** as they did, **though not the Church for the errours,** for that they did not, **but continued ſtill members of the Church.** Obſerve that the queſtion is about forſaking the Church of *Rome*, and he talkes of the Catholique Church. 1. The Catholique Church did not erre with the *Roman*; the Greek Church did forſake the errours of the *Roman*. 2. Thoſe Proteſtants who did proteſt againſt the Church of *Rome*, were a conſiderable part of the Catholique Church. 3. Thoſe Proteſtants did not continue members of the Roman Church but did renounce her communion, becauſe of her errours. 4. His diſtinction which followes betweene the Catholique and Roman Church makes his former obſervations non-ſence at leaſt. 5. He ſaith they ſeparated from the Roman Church only in things which they conceived ſuperſtitious or impious ——— and (he ſaith) they were obliged to doe this under paine of damnation. Not (ſaith he) as if it were damnable to hold an errour not damnable, *p.* 132. Did thoſe Proteſtants rightly conceive the practiſes of *Rome* to be ſuperſtitious and impious, or did they not? if they did conceive aright, then ſuperſtion and impiety are in Maſter *Chillingworths* judgement not damnable; if they did conceive amiſſe, why doth Maſter *Chillingworth* juſtifie our ſeparation from the Church of *Rome*? Sure Maſter *Chillingworth* was no fit man to maintaine the commou cauſe of Proteſtants againſt Papiſts.

Qu. *May not a man bee damned by maintaining errours which are not in themſelves damnable?*

Anſ. **Yes, becauſe it is damnable outwardly to profeſſe and maintaine, and ſome with others in the practiſe of that which inwardly we do not hold: for this is** (as he confeſſes) **damnable diſſimulation and hypocriſie,** p. 132. Men may do well to take notice, that Mr *Chillingworth* doth account ſomething damnable; and I note this the rather at this time, becauſe men

men are so apt to professe one thing in one place, and another thing in another in these dayes of liberty, and to joyne with others in the practise of that which they inwardly dislike. Yet Mr *Chillingworth* saith, that if in him alone there should have met a confluence of all the errours which all the Protestants in the world have fell into out of humane frailty, he would not be so much afraid of them all, as to ask pardon for them, because to ask pardon for them, were to imply, that God is angry for them, Answ. to the Preface p. 19.

Qu. *May a man goe constantly to Masse, and be saved?*

Ans. **Yes, if he bee devout at it** (for that he meanes by a godly Lay-man) **if he bee strongly perswaded that there is no impiety or superstition in the use of the Latine service,** Answ. to the Preface p. 9. sect. 7. It seems there is no fault in the Masse, but that it is in Latine.

Qu. *What profit might be gained by the Masse-book if it were in English?*

Ans. **Much devotion, instruction, edification, salvation,** in the place forecited. Was not this a stout Champion, chosen by Canterbury on purpose, not to *confute*, but *harden* Papists, and *seduce* Protestants.

Qu. *What are the causes of errour?*

Ans. **Negligence in seeking truth, unwillingnesse to find it, pride, obstinacy, a politique desire that that Religion should be true, which suites best with my ends, feare of mens ill opinion, or any other worldly feare or worldly hope, these seven betray men to, and keepe men in damnable errours,** p. 158. It is one of the most honest passages in his book. Brethren let us beware of these motives.

Qu. *What kinde of man was* Knot?

Ans. **One that went about to delude his King, and Country with strange captions;** Sure Mr *Chillingworth* and hee were both of a make, read 117.

Qu. *How may a King usurp an Absolute Lordship and Tyranny over any people?*

Ans **He need not put himself to the trouble and difficulty of**

abrogating Lawes, made to maintaine common liberty; for he may frustrate their intent, and compasse his own design as well, if he can get the power and authority to interpret them as he pleases, and to adde to them what he pleases, and to have his interpretations and additions stand for lawes; if he can rule his people by his Lawes, and his Lawes by his Lawyers, p. 51. cap. 2. I think our Iudges followed his directions in the point of Ship-money.

Qu. *What weapons of warfare may be justly called carnall?*

Ans. Massacres, Treasons, Persecutions, and in a word all meanes either violent or fraudulent. p. 52. God grant that the *Irish* forces which land daily, doe not make us as well acquainted with this warfare in *England*, as they are in *Ireland*.

Qu. *What obedience doe we owe to the lawes and judgements of Courts?*

Answ. Onely externall obedience, not internall approbation. p. 97.

Qu. *If I disapprove the judgement of any Court, am I bound to conceale my owne judgement?*

Ans. No, I may lawfully professe my judgement, and represent my reasons to the King or Common-wealth in a Parliament, as Sir Thomas Moore did without committing any fault, p. 97. Why then are men so much blam'd for professing their judgement against some things which seeme to be established by Law, and representing their reasons to the Parliament? and why did not Master *Chillingworth* yeeld externall obedience to the Common-wealth of *England* in this Parliament? for who can deny that the Common-wealth of *England* is assembled in this Parliament?

Qu. *May not a Court which pretends not to be infallible, be certain enough that they judge aright?*

Answ. Yes, our Iudges are not infallible in their iudgements, yet are they certaine enough that they iudge aright, and that they proceed according to the evidence that is given, when they condemne a theefe or a murtherer to the Gallowes. p. 140.

Now

Now Reader judge Maſter *Chillingworths* workes, my proceedings, and this Treatiſe according to the evidence given: and thinke an implicite faith in thine owne reaſon almoſt as bad as implicite faith in the Church or Pope of *Rome*.

I conclude all as Doctor *Fern* concludes his laſt booke. The God of Power and Wiſdome caſt out all Counſels, and defeat all Deſignes that are againſt the reſtoring of our Peace, and the continuance of the true Reformed Religion. Amen.

Soli Deo gloria.

FINIS.

8.

A SERMON OF Reformation.

Preached at the Church of the *Savoy*, laſt Faſt day, *July* 27. 1643.

By THOMAS FVLLER B. D. and Miniſter there.

I approve this Sermon as Orthodox and uſefull, *John Downam.*

LONDON:
Printed by *T. B.* for *John Williams*, at the ſigne of the Crowne in *Pauls* Church-yard. 1643.

A SERMON OF *REFORMATION.*

HEB. 9. 10.

Untill the time of Reformation.

THoſe who live beyond the Polar circles, are called *Periſcii*, becauſe they have ſhadowes round about them. In a more miſticall meaning the Jewes before Chriſt may be ſo called, living in conſtant Umbrages of Types and Ceremonies, which were taken away when the Sunne of righteouſneſſe did ariſe. Their ſacrifizing of Lambs, and Rammes, and Kids, and Goats, and Calves, and Kine, and Turtle-doves, with

their obſerving of Meates, and Drinkes, and Dayes, were as the Apoſtle ſaith, *Coloſ.* 2. 17. *A ſhaddow of things to come but the body is of Chriſt.*

2. Yea, in ſome ſence I may ſafely ſay, that the very *Sanctum* and *Sanctum Sanctorum*, was ſtill but the outward *Atrium*, as containing therein ſuch Types, as related to a higher and holier Truth: To inſtance onely in the Holy of Holieſt, herein were ſeven ſacred Utenſils, all full fraught with Heavenly Miſteries.

3. Firſt, the Golden Cenſor, ſignifying our prayers mingled with Chriſts merits (woefull for us, if he did not give better Incenſe then we bring) which he offers up for us to his Father. Secondly, the *Arke of the Covenant, overlai'd round about with Gold*; whileſt *Shittim* Wood was in the midſt thereof, to Typifie Chriſts humanity, decked and adorned with his Godhead. Thirdly, *the Pot of Manna*, looking backwards in memoriall of the miraculous meat of the Iſralites in the Wilderneſſe: And forwards to ſet forth Angels food in Heaven, which is neither to eat nor to drinke, but to doe Gods Will, and to ſee Gods Glory. Fourthly, *Aarons Rod which budded*, and beſides the Hiſtory contained therein, alluded to Chriſts Reſurrection, *that Branch of Jeſſe* cut down and caſt out amongſt the dead: which yet afterwards did revive, flouriſh and fructifie.

Fifthly,

Fifthly, *the Tables of the Covenant*, wherein the Commandements were written by Gods finger, to intimate, that onely an infinite power can effectually print Gods Lawes in our hard and obdurate hearts. Sixthly, the golden Cherubins overshadowing the Mercy-seare with their wings, and looking towards it, to shew, that the mistery of Gods mercy is to be covered from the curiosity of prophane Eyes, whilest the pious may with comfort behold it. Seventhly and lastly, *the Mercy-seat it self*, the Embleme of that Mercy-seat in Heaven, to which poore Penetents being cast at the Barre of Gods Justice have a free and open Appeale.

All these were of gold and pure gold, and yet Saint *Paul* (*Gal.* 4. 9.) calleth all legall ceremonies *beggarly Elements*, in comparison of Christ the Truth, in whom these did determine and expire: As the rude lines of blacke lead wherewith the Picture is first drawne, vanish away when the curious Limner layeth on the lively colours; so all these outward Ordinances had an end at the comming of Christ, being onely to last, *untill the time of Reformation.* 4.

The Text is so short, it needs not to be devided, onely the word *Reformation* must be expounded; a word long in pronouncing, and longer in performing, as generally signifying the 5.

bettering, and amending of what is amiſſe; In Greek διόρθωσις, *A Through Rectifying*. However, ſometimes the word *Reformation* is not oppoſed to things bad in their owne nature, but to things that are leſſe perfect, and may be more perfected, as in the Text. For the Ceremoniall Law of the Jewes was compleat in its kind, as given of God, and every thing made by *Him*, muſt be like *Him* that made it *very good*. Yet comparatively that Law was imperfect, and needed a Reformation, which was performed at Chriſts comming. Beſides, though the Ceremoniall Law was good in it ſelfe, yet it was bad as it was abuſed by the ignorant Jewes. For though the knowing Patriarks looked through, and beyond the Types to the Meſſias himſelfe; yet the dull People miſtaking the Shell for the Kernell, and the Casket for the Jewell; lodged their ſoules where they ſhould onely have bayted, and did dote on the ſhadowes as on the ſubſtance it ſelfe; in which reſpect the Peoples judgments as well as thoſe Ceremonies needed a Reformation.

6. The maine point we ſhall inſiſt on, is this; That *Chriſtians living under the Goſpell, live in a time of Reformation*, which will appeare in ſeverall particulars: For beſides Ceremonies removed according to the principall intent of the Text; Manners are now reformed and

and Doctrine refined: Poligamy connived at in the Patriarks, now generally condemned, the Bill of Divorce cancelled by Christianity, which was permitted to the Jewes, not because that was good, but because they were bad, and by this Toleration were kept from being worse. The second Table abused by the restrictive Comments of the Pharisees, confining those Lawes (which were made to confine them) onely to the outward Act, are now according to our Saviours interpretation extended to their true demention. The mistery of the Trinity clouded in the old Testament, is cleered in the New. The Doctrine of Gods righteousnes by faith, of the merrit of Christ, of the spirit of Adoption, of the Resurrection of the Body, darkly delivered under the Law are manifested in the Gospell, with many other heavenly Revelations.

7. *Use.* Let us be hartily thankfull to God, who gave us to be borne since the comming of Christ in the time of Reformation. Our Twilight is now cleerer then the Jewish Noonday: The men of *China* use to brag, that they (because of their ingenious civility) have two Eyes, the Europæans one, and that all the World besides are starke blind; more truely it may be said that the Christians had two Eyes, the Law and Gospell; the Jewes but one, the Law alone, and all people and Pagans

beſides ſit in darkneſſe and the ſhadow of Death. The Jewes indeed ſaw Chriſt preſented in a land-ſcept, and beheld him through the Perſpective of faith, *ſeeing the promiſes a farre off*. But at this day a Dwarfe-Chriſtian is an overmatch for a gyant Jew in knowledge, as appeareth by our Saviours Riddle, *Matth.* 11. 11. *Among them that are borne of women there hath not riſen a greater then* John *the Baptiſt: Notwithſtanding he that is leaſt in the Kingdome of Heaven, is greater then he.*

8. Which Riddle is thus untyed: *John* Baptiſt was the greateſt amongſt the Children of Women, becauſe other Prophets foreſaw Chriſt, He ſaw him; others ſpake of Chriſt, Hee ſpake to him, and had the high honour to baptize him with water, by whoſe ſpirit he himſelfe was baptized: Yet was he the leaſt in the Kingdome of Heaven (which properly began after Chriſts Aſcention) becauſe though perchance acquainted with the generals thereof, the particulars of the time, place, meanes and manner, were as much conceal'd from him, as cleerly revealed unto us. He never knew that *Judas* ſhould betray Chriſt; *Caiphas* accuſe him, *Peter* deny him, *Pilate* condemne him, Souldiers crucifie him, *Nicodemus* embalme him, *Joſeph* bury him. Theſe, and many more Circumſtances of our Saviours paſſion, Reſurrection and Aſcention, now Hiſto-

Hiſtories to our Children, were Miſteries to *John* Baptiſt; who, though Chriſts Harbinger *to prepare his way*, yet did not live to ſee his Maſter poſſeſſe what he had provided for him: Wherefore if *Alexander* the Emperour did count himſelfe much indebted to the Gods, that he was borne a Grecian, and not a Barbarian, how thankfull ought we to be to God, who gave us to be borne neither Jewes, nor Pagans, but Chriſtians, ſince *the time of Reformation.*

But this indeed were true, if all things in the Church continued at this time in the ſame condition of Primative Purity, whereto Chriſt Reform'd it. But long ſince, That *falling away*, foretold by the Apoſtle, is come to paſſe, and that *man of ſinne* hath played his part in the Church, therein deforming Manners with Vice, Doctrine with Hereſie, Diſcipline with Superſtition. As for any Reformation which ſince hath happened in *England*, it hath beene but partiall and imperfect. King *Henry* the eight brake the Popes necke, but bruiſed not the leaſt finger of Popery; rejecting his Supremacy, but retaining his ſuperſtition in the ſix Articles. The Reformation under *Edward* the ſixth, was like the Reformer, little better then a child, and he muſt needs be a weake *Defender of the Faith*, who needed a Lord Protector for himſelfe: As Nurſes to woe their Chil- 9. *Obiect.*

Children to part from knives, doe ſuffer them to play with Rattles; ſo the State then permitted the People (infants in Piety) to pleaſe themſelves with ſome frivilous points of Popery, on condition they would forſake the dangerous opinions thereof. As for Queene *Elizabeth*, her Character is given in that plaine, but true expreſſion, *that ſhee ſwept the Church of* England *and left all the duſt behind the doore.* Her Succeſſors have gone in the ſame path, and the ſame pace with little alteration, and leſſe Addition in matters of Moment, ſave that beſides ſome old errors unamended; many Innovations have broken in upon us, which might be inſtanced in, were it as ſafe as it is eaſie to reckon them up. We therefore deſire and expect a *Through Reformation*, to ſee Chriſt mounted on his Throne, with his Scepter in his hand, in the Purity of his Ordinances, and we ſhall grieve and groane *untill* ſuch *a Reformation.*

10. *Anſw.* This objection containes many parts, and muſt be taken aſunder: Some things therein are freely to be granted, and others flatly to be denied, and others warily to be qualified. We freely confeſſe the Deformation by Popery, as alſo, that the Reforming was by *Henry* the eight and *Edward* the ſixth (good Prince, of whom I had ſaid, that he dyed too ſoone, but becauſe he dyed when God would have him)

behind

were but partiall and imperfect. *Withall, we flatly deny that Queene* Elizabeth *left the duſt behind the Doore, which ſhe caſt out* on the Dunghill; whence this uncivill expreſſion was raked up. The Doctrine by her eſtabliſhed, and by her Succeſſors maintained in the 39. Articles, if declared, explained and aſſerted from falſe Gloſſes, have all gold, no duſt or droſſe in them.

Againe, we freely confeſſe that there may be ſome faults in our Church in matters of practice and Ceremonies, and no wonder if there be, it would be a Miracle if there were not: Beſides, there be ſome Innovations, rather *in the Church* then *of the Church*, as not chargeable on the Publique Account, but on private mens ſcores, *who are old enough, let them anſwer for themſelves.* Religion in *England*, is like the Cloaths of the Iſraelites, *Deut.* 29. 5. which for many yeeres together waxed not old. Alas, in ſome places it is threadbare, may it have a new nappe; in more it is ſpotted, may it be well ſcowred; and in all places rent aſunder, may it be well mended. 11.

A Through Reformation, we, and all good men doe deſire with as ſtrong affections, though perhaps not with ſo loud a noiſe, as any whatſoever. The higheſt clamour doth not alwayes argue the greateſt earneſtneſſe. 12.

Children to part from knives, doe ſuffer them to play with Rattles; ſo the State then permitted the People (infants in Piety) to pleaſe themſelves with ſome frivilous points of Popery, on condition they would forſake the dangerous opinions thereof. As for Queene *Elizabeth*, her Character is given in that plaine, but true expreſſion, *that ſhee ſwept the Church of* England *and left all the duſt behind the doore.* Her Succeſſors have gone in the ſame path, and the ſame pace with little alteration, and leſſe Addition in matters of Moment, ſave that beſides ſome old errors unamended; many Innovations have broken in upon us, which might be inſtanced in, were it as ſafe as it is eaſie to reckon them up. We therefore deſire and expect a *Through Reformation*, to ſee Chriſt mounted on his Throne, with his Scepter in his hand, in the Purity of his Ordinances, and we ſhall grieve and groane *untill* ſuch *a Reformation.*

10. *Anſw.* This objection containes many parts, and muſt be taken aſunder: Some things therein are freely to be granted, and others flatly to be denied, and others warily to be qualified. We freely confeſſe the Deformation by Popery, as alſo, that the Reforming was by *Henry* the eight and *Edward* the ſixth (good Prince, of whom I had ſaid, that he dyed too ſoone, but becauſe he dyed when God would have him)

behind

were but partiall and imperfect. *Withall, we flatly deny that Queene* Elizabeth *left the duſt behind the Doore, which ſhe caſt out* on the Dunghill; whence this uncivill expreſſion was raked up. The Doctrine by her eſtabliſhed, and by her Succeſſors maintained in the 39. Articles, if declared, explained and aſſerted from falſe Gloſſes, have all gold, no duſt or droſſe in them.

Againe, we freely confeſſe that there may be ſome faults in our Church in matters of practice and Ceremonies, and no wonder if there be, it would be a Miracle if there were not: Beſides, there be ſome Innovations, rather *in the Church* then *of the Church*, as not chargeable on the Publique Account, but on private mens ſcores, *who are old enough, let them anſwer for themſelves.* Religion in *England*, is like the Cloaths of the Iſralites, *Deut.* 29. 5. which for many yeeres together waxed not old. Alas, in ſome places it is threadbare, may it have a new nappe; in more it is ſpotted, may it be well ſcowred; and in all places rent aſunder, may it be well mended. 11.

A Through Reformation, we, and all good men doe deſire with as ſtrong affections, though perhaps not with ſo loud a noiſe, as any whatſoever. The higheſt clamour doth not alwayes argue the greateſt earneſtneſſe. 12.

But with this qualification, that by *Through Reformation*, we meane ſuch a one, whereof we are capible, *pro ſtatu viatorum*, made with all due and Chriſtian moderation: That Arrow is well drawne, that is drawne to the head, but it may be over-drawn cleane through the Bow, and ſo doe no good. There is in like manner a poſſibility of out-doing, even in the point of Reforming: And therefore how a true Through Reformation may be made, and managed long to continue, by Gods aſſiſtance and your patience; I will take in hand to give the true Characters of ſuch who are to be true and and proper Reformers.

3. Firſt, they muſt have a lawfull calling thereunto: What better deede then to make Brothers friends, and to be an equall Umpire betwixt them? Yet Chriſt himſelfe declin'd the Imployment, as out of his Vocation, *Luk.* 12. 14. *Who made me a Judge or Deuider over you.* Some good duties lye in common to all good men. Whoſoever is called a Chriſtian hath a juſt calling to performe them: Tis ſo farre from being a ſinne for any to doe them, that it is a ſinne for any to leave them undone. But there be other duties, which God hath impaled in, for ſome particular perſons, ſo that it is a Ryot or Treſpaſſe at leaſt for any other to force their Entrance into them: Amongſt theſe

theſe Actions, Reformation of Churches is a chiefe, as of higheſt Honour, and greateſt concernment.

Now, the Supreme power alone, hath a lawfull calling to Reforme a Church in thoſe reſpective places, wherein it is ſupreme; Where this ſupreme power is ſeated, the Statiſts of the ſeverall places may judge, the Divine goeth no farther, but to maintaine that where the Supreme power is, there alone is the power of Reformation; as it plainly appeares by the Kings of *Judah* in their Kingdome. Two ſorts of Idolatry, the Jewes therein were guilty of: The one Groſſe, the other Refined. Groſſe Idolatry againſt the firſt Commandement, in worſhipping a falſe God, as *Baal*, and the like. Refined Idolatry, againſt the ſecond Commandement, in worſhipping the true God after a falſe and forbidden manner, 2 *Chron.* 33. 17. *Neverthelеſſe the people did ſacrifice ſtill in the high Places, yet unto the the Lord their God onely.* Groſſe Idolatry found many Reformers, *Aſa*, *Joaſh*, *Amaziah*, *Uzziah*, *Jotham*, *Manaſſe*, whileſt onely two *Jehoſophat* and *Hezekiah*, endeavoured the Reforming of Refined Idolatry, and *Joſiah* alone perfected it. In both we may obſerve, that the Kings were praiſed for doing ſo much, or diſpraiſed for doing no more, which plainly proves, that the Reforming of the Church did 14.

properly pertaine unto them. God neither miſtakes, nor confounds the good Deeds or Rewards of men; but ſets the due praiſes on the true perſons; the perſon that doth well ſhall be praiſed, the Prince ſhall not be commended for the good Deeds of the people, nor the people commended for the good Deeds of the Prince; indeed God threatens the common people of Iſrael, *Levit.* 26. 23. with Beaſts, Warres, and many other Plagues, *if they will not be reformed.* But we never read that God reproved the people, for not Reforming the Jewiſh Church from Idolatry, as a Taske belonging to the Supreme power placed over them.

13. Meane time meere private men muſt not be idle, but move in their Spheare till the Supreme power doth Reforme. Firſt, they are daily to pray to God to inſpire thoſe who have power and place with Will and Skill, courageouſly to begin, conſtantly to continue, and happily to conclude ſuch a Reformation. Secondly, *they* are ſeriouſly to reforme themſelves: He needs not to complaine of too little worke, who hath a *little* world in himſelfe to amend: A good man in Scripture is never called Gods Church (becauſe that is a collective terme belonging to many) but is often termed Gods Temple, ſuch a Temple it is lawfull for every private man to Reforme: He muſt

muſt ſee that the foundation of faith be firme, the pillars of Patience be ſtrong, the windowes of Knowledge be cleere, the roofe of Perſeverance be perfected. Thirdly, he may Reforme *the Church in his houſe*, *Philemon* 2, carefully looking to his owne Family, *Joſh.* 24. 15. *that he and his houſe may ſerve the Lord.* But as for the publique Reforming of the Church in generall, he muſt let it alone as belonging to *the Supreme power*, to whom it is appropriated.

But ſeeing we have occaſion to ſpeak of lawfull Callings, what Calling (may ſome ſay) have you to meddle with this point above your reach, and without your Compaſſe; who pen'd your Commiſſion to take ſuch matters in hand? Leave the deſcribing of Reformers Characters to ſuch, who have more Age, Experience and Ability to performe it. 16. *Object.*

I am, or ſhould be, moſt ſenſible of mine owne weakneſſe, being ἐλαχιστότερος, the leaſt of thoſe that diſpence the Word & Sacraments. Yet have I a calling, as good as the Church of *England* could give me: And if ſhe be not aſham'd of ſuch a ſonne, I count my ſelfe honoured with ſuch a Mother. And though meere private Chriſtians may not intermeddle with publique Reforming of a Church, Gods Prophets have in all Ages, challenged the Priviledge to tell neceſſary Truths unto the Greateſt. The Tongue uſed to be cut out of the 17. *Anſw.*

Roman Sacrifices, & given unto their Heraulds, to shew that freedome of language was allowed them. We are Christs Embassadours, 2 *Cor.* 5. 20. & claim the leave to speak Truth with soberuesse: And though I cannot expect my words should be *like nailes fastened by the Masters of the Assemblies*, *Eccl.* 12. 11. Yet I hope they may prove as Tacks, entred by him that desires to be faithfull and peaceable in Israel.

18. The second Requisite in Reformers, is Piety, the very *Snuffers in the Tabernacle were made of pure Gold*, *Exo.* 37. 23. They ought to be good themselves, who are to amend others, least that Reproofe fall heavy on them. *Psal.* 50. 16. *But unto the ungodly* (saith God) *why doest thou preach my Lawes, and takest my Covenant in thy mouth? whereas thou hatest to be Reformed, and hast cast my words behind thee.* And though sometimes bad men may Reforme others, *by the vertue of their Office:* Yet when it is done by the Office of their Vertue, and efficacy of their goodnesse, it is more gracefull in it selfe, more acceptable to God, and more comfortable to the Doer.

19. Thirdly, Knowledge in a competent, yea, plentifull measure: Dangerous was the mistake committed by Sir *Francis Drake* in 88. when neglecting to carry the Lanterne, (as he was commanded) in the dark night, chased five Hulkes of the Dutch Merchants, supposing them

Camdens Eliz. p. 367.

them to have beene his Enemies of the Spaniards. Such and worſe Errors may be committed in the Reforming of a Church, good miſtaken for bad, and bad miſtaken for good, where the light of knowledge is wanting for direction.

Fourthly, true courage and magnanimity; 20.
Reformers need to be armed with a ſtout ſpirit Cap a pee, which are to breake through the front of bad Cuſtomes long received. Such Cuſtomes, as they are bad, are *Vſurpers*, as they are Cuſtomes are Tyrants, and will ſtickle ſtoutly to ſtand in their old place. *Matthew* ſaith, 27. 15. *At the Feaſt the Governour was wont to releaſe unto the people a priſoner.* *Luke* ſaith, 23. 17. *Of neceſſity he muſt releaſe one unto them at the Feaſt.* What was but a Curteſie at the firſt, grew in proceſſe of time to be a cuſtome, and at laſt became a neceſſity. Such cuſtomes made neceſſary by continuance muſt Reformers expect to encounter, and reſolve to remove. O coward-lines in a Magiſtrate is a great ſinne! who would think to find the Fearfull marching in the forefront? and yet in that forlorne Hope which goeth to Hell, *Rev.* 21. 8. ſee them firſt named; *but the fearfull, the unbeleeving and abominable, &c.* ſo neceſſary is Chriſtian Courage, eſpecially in a Reformer.

Fifthly,

21. Fifthly and laſtly, they muſt be endued with *Chriſtian diſcretion*, a Grace that none ever ſpake againſt, but thoſe that wanted it; *A good man will guide his affaires with diſcretion*, *Pſal.* 112. 5. I muſt confeſſe there is a diſcretion (falſly ſo called) both carnall in it ſelfe, and inconſiſtent with true Zeale, yea, deſtructive of it. Chriſt had two Diſciples of the ſame name, the one a true man, the other a Traytor, both *Judaſſes*. Wherefore to prevent miſtakes, the former is never cited in Scriptures, but with an Addi ion, *Judas ſaith unto him, not Iſcariot, Lord, &c. John* 14. 22. *Judas* the ſervant of *Jeſus Chriſt*, and brother of *James*, *Jude* 1. In like manner we, heere mentioning Diſcretion, call it *Chriſtian Diſcretion* for difference thereof, that all may know, we meane not that which deſtroyes Zeale, but that which directs it; not that which quencheth Zeale, but which keeps it in the Chimney, the proper place thereof; not that which makes it leſſe lively, but what makes it more laſting. This Diſcretion, though laſt named, is not leaſt needfull in the Reformers of a Church, and muſt principally appeare in two things; firſt, the not ſparing of the Tares for the Wheats ſake. Secondly, the not ſpilling the Wheat for the Tares ſake.

The

22. The not ſparing the Tares for the Wheats ſake. By tares we underſtand, not only things unlawfull in a Church, but things unexpedient and unprofitable, which alſo muſt be removed. The barren Fig-tree, *Luke* 13.17. was condemned, not forbearing deadly or dangerous fruit, but none at all. *Cut it downe, why cumbreth it the ground?* Gods Garden ought to bee ſo well dreſſed, as to have nothing ſuperfluous that doth harme, that doth no good therein. *He that will not worke, neither ſhall he eat*, 2 *Theſſ.*3.10. Is ſuch Ceremonies to be found in our Church, which will not labour, neither needfull in themſelves, nor conducting to decency; let them no longer have countenance in the Church, nor maintenance from it.

23. The not ſpilling the Wheat for the Tares ſake, and letting thoſe things alone which are well ordered already. Yet is there a Generation of Anabaptiſts, in number fewer, I hope, then are reported, yet more I feare then are diſcovered; people too turbulent to obey, and too tyrannicall to command. If it ſhould come into their hands to reforme, Lord what worke would they make. Very facile, but very foule is that miſtake in the vulgar Tranſlation, *Luke* 15.8. Inſtead of *Everrit domum, ſhe ſwept the houſe*, 'Tis rendred, *Evertit domum, She over-*

turn'd the house. Such sweeping we must expect from such Spirits, which under pretence to cleanse our Church, would destroy it. The best is, they are so far from *sitting at the Helme*, that I hope they shall ever be *kept under Hatches*.

24. Now as discretion discovereth it selfe in the matter of Reformation, so also it appeareth in the manner thereof. First, it is to be done with all reverence and respect to the ancient Fathers. These, though they lived neer the Fountain of Religion, yet lived in the Marches of Paganisme; as also in the time wherein the *Mystery of Iniquity began to worke*, which wee hope is now ready to receive the wages. If therefore there be found in their practice any Ceremonies smacking of Paganisme or Popery, and if the same can bee justly chalenged to continue in our Church, I pleade not for their longer life, but for their decent buriall.

25. Secondly, with honourable reservation to the memories of our first Reformers. Reverend *Cranmer*, Learned *Ridley*, Downe right *Lattimer*, Zealous *Bradford*, Pious *Philpot*, patient *Hooper*, men that had their failings, but worthy in their Generations; *These bare the heat of the day*, indeed, which were burnt to ashes; and though wee may write

write a fairer hand then they, yet they affixed a firmer Seale, that dyed for their Doctrine.

26. Laſtly, with carefulneſſe, not to give any juſt offence to the Papiſts. Say not, we need not to feare to offend them, who would confound us. We have ſo long waited for their converſion, we have almoſt ſeene our ſubverſion. Indeed we are forbidden to offend Gods *little ones*, but not inhibited to offend the Devils *great ones*. And though S. *Paul* bids us to *give no offence to thoſe that are without*, that is meant of pure Pagans; and therefore the Papiſts being neither well *within* nor well *without*, fall not under that precept. For all theſe Expreſſions ſavour more of *Humor* then Holineſſe, of *Stomack*, then the Spirit. Though Papiſts forget their duty to us, let us remember our duty to them, to them, not as Papiſts, but as profeſſors of Chriſtianity, to their perſons, not erronious opinions, not giving them any juſt offence. But if they will bee offended without cauſe, be their amends in their owne hands. If *Rebeckah* will come to *Iſaac*, ſhe ſhall be wellcome. But in no caſe ſhall *Iſaac* goe back to *Rebeckah*, *Geneſis* 34. 6. *Beware that thou bring not my ſonne thither againe.*

27. Theſe five Ingredients muſt compound

pound effectuall reformers. Where any, or all of theſe are wanting. A Reformation will either not be made, or not long kept, witneſſe the pretended Reformation, the Papiſts ſo much bragge off, in the laſt of Queene *Mary*, in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, by the *Delegates of Cardinall Poole*. Where nothing of worth was done, but many fooliſh ceremonies enforced, and the Bones of *Bucer* and *Phagius* burnt. It paſſeth for the expreſſion of a mad man *to beat the aire*; and it is little better to beat the *earth*. To fight (as they did) againſt duſt and aſhes, bodyes of men long before buried: except they thought by this ſimilitude of burning dead bodies, to worke in ſilly people a beliefe of Purgatory fire, tormenting ſoules deceaſed. Now when it came into queſtion whether the Ordinances and Deciſions of thoſe Reformers ſhould bee ingroſſed in Parchment, or in Paper, [a] Doctor *Swimborne*, Maſter of *Clare Hall* gave his opinion, that paper would doe the deed well enough, as being likely to laſt longer then thoſe decrees ſhould ſtand in force; as afterward it came to paſſe, they being all reſcinded in the next yeare, being the firſt of Queene *Elizabeth*.

[a] *Fox*. Acts Monum. pag. 1064.

28. Two things more I will briefly touch, and

and ſo conclude. Firſt, that there is a grand difference betwixt founding of a new Church, and reforming of an old. For the former, Saint *Paul* outſtript all men in the World. The Papiſts bragge much of King *Edgar*, who is ſaid to have founded as many Monaſteries, as there be weekes in the yeer. Surely more Churches in *Aſia* and *Europe* were built from the ground by Saint *Paul*, *Who ſtrived to preach the Goſpell, not where Chriſt was named, leſt he ſhould build upon another mans foundation, Romans* 15. 20. But reforming of Churches is an eaſier worke, as not giving a Church the life but the luſtre; not the birth but the beauty; either repairing what is defective, or removing what is redundant. Thus wee acknowledge *Solomon* the ſole founder of the Temple, though *Joaſh* repaired it, amending the breaches thereof. *Iotham* enlarged it, adding the beautifull porch thereto, and *Ezechiah* adorned it, covering the pillars with ſilver therein.

29. However, it is worth our obſerving, that Reformers are ſometimes ambitious to entitle themſelves to be founders, as being covetous of credit, and counting it more honour to make a thing, then to mend it. Thus *Nebuchadnezzar* boaſted, *Daniel* 4.30. *Is not this great Babylon that I have built for the*

house of the Kingdome, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty? Whereas *Babylon* was built by *Nimrod*, or (as others say) *Semyramis*, many yeeres before *Nebuchadnezzars* cradle was made. Yet hee, no doubt, did encrease, strengthen, and beautifie it; on which title, see how he engrosseth all the glory unto himselfe, as first, and sole founder! *Is not this great Babilon that I have built?*

30. Let none in like manner brag, that they are now the first Founders of a Church in *England*, built long since therein, time out of minde. We deny and defie such Papists as say that *Augustine* the Monke was the first Apostle of this Island, where the Gospell long before had been preached, though not to the *Saxons* our Ancestors, yet to the *Britans* our Predecessors. Yea, having cause to search who first brought Christianity over into *Britanny*, my endeavours have beene still at a losse and left at uncertainty. Perchance as God, *Deuteronomy* 34. 6. buried the body of *Moses*, That *no man knoweth the place of his Sepulture unto this day*, to cut off from the Jewes all occasion of Idolatry; So it seems his wisdome hath suffered the names of the first founders of Religion *Here* to be covered in obscurity, to prevent posterity from being superstitious to their Memories. However, if justly

we

we be angry with the Papiſts for making the Brittiſh Church (a tall ſtripling grown,) to weare ſwadling cloathes againe: more cauſe have we to diſtaſte the pens and preachings of ſuch who make their addreſſes unto us, as unto pure Pagans where the word is newly to be planted. A [b] Moderne Author tels us a ſtrange ſtory, how the ſervants of Duke *D. Alva*, ſeeking for a Hawke they had loſt, found a new Country in the Navell of *Spaine*, not knowne before, invironed with Mountaines, and peopled with naked Salvages; I ſhould wonder if ſuch a *Terra incognita* could be found in *England*; which (what betwixt the covetouſneſſe of Landlords and the carefulneſſe of Tenants) is almoſt meaſured to an Acre. But if ſuch a place were diſcovered, I muſt allow that the Preachers there were the firſt planters of the Goſpell, which in all other places of the kingdome are but the Continuers thereof. I hope Chriſt hath reaped much goodneſſe long agoe, where theſe, now, new pretend to plant it. And if *England* hath not had a true Church hitherto, I feare it will not have a true Church hereafter.

In a book of directions to travel.

31 The ſecond thing I commend unto you is this, That a perfect Reformation of any Church in this world may be deſired, but not hoped for. Let *Zenophons Cyrus* bee King in *Plato's*

Plato's Common-wealth; and Batchelors wives breed maides children in *Mores Vtopia*, whileſt Roſes grow in their Gardens without prickles, as Saint *Baſil* held they did before the fall of *Adam*. Theſe phanſies are pleaſing and plauſible, but the performance thereof unfeiſable, and ſo is the perfect reformation of a Church in this world, difficult to bee preſcribed, and impoſſible to be practiſed. For beſides that Satan will doe his beſt, or rather his worſt to undoe it. Man in this life is not capable of ſuch perfection. Look not to finde that in man out of Paradiſe, which was not found in man in Paradiſe, continuance in an holy eſtate. *Luther* was wont to ſay, he never knew good order in the Church laſt above 15 yeares, in the purity thereof, yea, the more perfect the Reformation is, the leſſe time it is likely to laſt. Mans minde being in conſtant motion, when it cannot aſcend higher, will not ſtand ſtill, but it muſt decline. I ſpeake not this to diſ-hearten men from endeavouring a perfect Reformation, but to keepe them from being diſ-heartned, when they ſee the ſame cannot be exactly obſerved.

32. And yet there are ſome now adayes that talke of a great light, manifeſted in this age more then ever before. Indeed wee Modernes have a mighty advantage of the Ancients, whatſoever

ſoever was theirs, by Induſtry, may be ours. The Chriſtian Philoſophy of *Iuſtin Martyr*; the conſtant Sanctity of *Cyprian*; the Catholick faith of *Athanaſius*, the Orthodox judgement of *Nazianzen*; the manifold learning of *Jerome*; the ſolid Comments of *Chriſoſtome*; the ſubtill Controverſies of *Auguſtine*; the excellent Morals of *Gregory*; the humble Devotions of *Bernard*: all contribute themſelves to the edification of us, who live in this latter Age. But as for any tranſcendent extraordinary miraculous light, peculiarly conferred on our Times, the worſt I wiſh the opinion is this, that it were true. Sure I am that this light muſt not croſſe the Scripture, but cleere the Scripture. So that if it affirmeth any thing contrary to Gods written Word, or enforceth any thing (as neceſſary to ſalvation) not expreſt in Gods word; I dare boldly ſay, That ſuch a light is kindled from Hell.

33. As for the opinion of Chriſts corporall viſible kingdome, to come within few yeares, I will neither peremptorily reject it, nor dare abſolutely receive it. Not reject it, leſt I come within the compaſſe of the Apoſtles reproffe 2. *Peter* 2. 12. *Speaking evill of the things they underſtand not.* Confeſſing my ſelfe not to know the reaſons of their opinions, who though citing for it much Canonicall Scripture, yet

their interpretations thereof may be but Apocrypha. Nor dare we receive it, not being ſafe to be familiar with ſtrangers at the firſt ſight; and this Tenent is ſtrange, as ſet commonly afoot with theſe few laſt yeares. I am afraid rather on the contrary of a generall defection. Seeing the word is ſo ſlighted, and the gueſts begin to play with their meat, I feare leſt God the Maſter of the feaſt, will call for the *Voyder*: that ſo when Chriſt comes to judgement, he ſhall *finde no faith on the earth*. But of things to come, *little* and *doubtfully*. If this opinion of Chriſts corporall comming very ſhortly be true. I hope if we live, we ſhall have our ſhare therein: if otherwiſe, *Moſes* hath no cauſe to complaine, if dying he commeth not into the Earthly Canaan, but into the Heavenly.

34. Meane time whileſt we expect the perſonall comming of Chriſt, let us pray for the peaceable comming back of him, who ſometimes is called Chriſt in the Scripture, *the Lords anointed*. O the miſerable condition of our Land at this tyme, God hath ſhewed the whole World, that *England* hath enough in it ſelfe to make it ſelfe happy or unhappy, as it uſeth or abuſeth it. Her homebred wares enough to maintaine her, and her homebred warres enough to deſtroy her, though no forreigne

reigne Nation contribute to her Overthrow. Well, whileſt others fight for Peace, let us pray for Peace; for Peace on good termes, yea on Gods termes, and in Gods time, when he ſhall be pleaſed to give it, and we fitted to receive it. Let us wiſh both King & Parliament ſo well, as to wiſh neither of them better, but both of them beſt. Even a happy Accommodation.

35. Only this I will adde, that his Majeſtie in making his Medals, hath tooke the right courſe to propagate his promiſes and moſt royall intentions to poſterity, and raiſe it to behold the performance thereof. Seeing Princes memories have beene perpetuated by their coines when all other *Monuments*, *Arches*, *Obelisks*, *Piramids*, *Theaters*, *Trophies*, and *Triumphs*, have yeelded to time, and been quite forgotten. Yea, 'tis probable, that the names of ſome ſhort reigning Roman Emperours had beene quite loſt, if not found in their Impreſſes on their Monies, Coines, having this peculiar priviledge to themſelves; that after they have been buried many yeares in the ground, when taken up againe, they have life enough to ſpeake the names of thoſe Princes that cauſed them and their Impreſſions to be ſtamped, either to their eternall ſhame or laſting honour.

36. To conclude, let us all provide for that perfect Reformation in the world to come;

when Christ shall present the Church his Spouse to God his Father, *without spot*, comming from mans corruption, *or wrincle*, caused by times continuance. When we shall have *a new heaven and a new earth, wherein shall dwell Righteousnesse*. With judgements reformed from error, wills reformed from wiltulnesse, affections reformed from mistaking their object, or exceeding their measure; all powers and parts of soule and body reformed from sin to sanctity. *Let us waite all the dayes of our appointed time, untill our change come.* Untill this time of Reformation. *Amen.*

I approve this Sermon as Orthodox and usefull.

John Downame.

Truth Maintained,

Or

POSITIONS DELIVERED in a Sermon at the SAVOY:

Since Traduced

For DANGEROVS:

Now Asserted

For SOVND and SAFE.

By THOMAS FVLLER, B. D. late of Sidney Colledge in Cambridge.

The Particulars are These.

I *That the Doctrine of the Impossibility of a Churches perfection, in this world, being well understood, begets not Lazinesse but the more industry in wise reformers.*

II *That the Church of England cannot justly be taxed with superstitious innovations.*

III *How farre private Christians, Ministers, and subordinate Magistrates, are to concurre to the advancing of a* Publique Reformation.

IIII *What parts therein are only to be acted by the* Supreme power.

V *Of the progresse, and praise of passive obedience.*

VI *That no extraordinary Excitations, Incitations, or Inspirations are bestowed from God, on men in these dayes.*

VII *That it is utterly unlawfull to give any* just offence *to the papist, or to any men whatsoever.*

VIII *What advantage the Fathers had of us, in learning and religion, and what we have of them.*

IX *That no new light, or new essentiall truths, are, or can be revealed in this age.*

X *That the doctrine of the Churches imperfection, may safely be preached, and cannot honestly be concealed:*

With severall Letters, to cleare the occasion of this Book.

I will beare the wrath of the Lord, because I have sinned against him, untill he plead my cause, and execute iudgement for me; then will he bring me forth to the light, and I shall see his righteousnesse, *Micah.* 7. 9.

Printed at Oxford, Anno Dom. 1643.

TO THE

Moſt Sacred, and Reverend

ASSEMBLY

For the

REFORMATION

of the CHURCH, now convened by the PARLIAMENT.

Moſt Sacred and Reverend Divines,

I Have but the thoughts of an Afternoone to ſpread before you; for I Examined the ſame Pace that I read, that if it were poſſible a Truth might overtake an Errour, ere it goe too farre. It is not a little Encouragement that I may ſit like the Propheteſſe under the Palme tree, *under ſuch a* Shade *as your ſelves, and what weakeneſſe ſoever may appeare in theſe my Aſſertions: This ayring them under your* Patronage, *will heale them. For ſo they*

 brought

brought forth the ſick into the ſtreets, that at leaſt the ſhadow of Peter might touch ſome of them. *Thus have I ſuddenly ſet up my* Candle *for others to Light their* Torch *at; and, I hope, you will pardon me, if my Zeale to the Truth made me ſee Anothers* faults *ſooner then mine Owne,*

Your Servant in Chriſt Ieſus

Iohn Saltmarſh.

TO

TO
the Two most Famous
VNIVERSITIES
OF
ENGLAND.

I Dare not give you such high Epithites as Master *Saltmarsh* bestoweth upon the *Assembly*, to call you the MOST SACRED. Be contented to be Stiled the *Two most Famous Universities*; a Title, which it is no Flattery to give you, but Injury to deny you.

Quid amplius præpotenti & immortali Deo tribuimus si quod eius proprium est eripimus? Bodin. de Republ. l. 1 c. ult

I have the Studies of some whole dayes to spread before you. I am not ashamed to confesse so much, but should be ashamed to present your learned Considerations with lesse. And will rather runne the hazard of other mens Censure, to have studied so long to no purpose, then to

be guilty to my ſelfe of ſo much diſreſpect to *You*, as to offer to your Patronage what coſt me but ſleight ſtudying.

Indeed I examined his Examinations of my Sermon with the ſame pace that I read them. But I could not confute his Errors ſo ſpeedily as I could diſcover them, nor could I ſo ſoon make them appeare to others, as they appeared to me; and the Evidencing of his Faults did coſt me ſome Paines, whereof I hope I ſhall never have juſt Cauſe to Repent.

I am altogether out of hope that my Truth ſhould quickly overtake his Error, which had the Advantage of me both at the Starting and in the Speed; And yet I beleeve what I want in the ſwiftneſſe of my Feet, I ſhall have in the Firmeneſſe of my footing. And when I overtake it at laſt, as I am ſure I ſhall, ſeeing untruths will Tire (as being better at hand then at length) I am confident by Gods Aſſiſtance, it will get firme and quiet Poſſeſſion in ſpight of oppoſition.

It is altogether Improper for mee to compare You being Two in number to the *Palme Tree* under which the Propheteſſe *Deborah* ſate;

But

But the Analogie will hold well, if I ſhould reſemble You to the *Two Olive Trees* continually dropping oyle in the Preſence of God. And methinks Maſter *Saltmarſh* his Expreſſion to the *Aſſembly*, *VNDER SVCH A SHADE AS YOVR SELVES*, making *them in the Aſſembly* but a Shadow, (and then what is the Shadow of a Shadow worth under which hee deſireth to ſit?) was but an undervaluing and diminutive expreſſing of their worth.

I honour you as You Deſerve, and Counting You a Real and Laſting Subſtance, ſo I addreſſe my Reſpects unto you:

Humbly requeſting you to be pleaſed to Patronize and defend this my defence: the rather becauſe what doctrines therein I deliver, not long ſince I ſuckt from One of you, and in this reſpect I beleive both Breaſts give Milke alike; And therefore as your Learning is moſt Able, ſo your Goodneſſe will bee willing to Protect the ſame, not ſo much becauſe I had them from you, as becauſe you had them from the Truth.

Some perchance may blame my Choice in Chooſing You for my Protection who in theſe troubleſome times are ſcarce able to defend your

your ſelves: The Univerſities being now *Degraded*, at leaſt ſuſpended from the degree of their former Honour. And I wonder, Men ſhould now talke of *an Extraordinary great Light*, when the two Eyes of our Land (ſo you were ever accompted) are almoſt put out. However this ſhort Interruption of your Happineſſe will but adde the more to your Honour hereafter.

And here, as it were Store of Pride for me to Counſell you, ſo it were want of duty not to Comfort you. Know, the only Good Token of theſe Times is, That they are ſo extreamely Bad they can never laſt long. God give you a ſanctified Impreſſion of your Afflictions, neither to ſleight them nor ſink under them; and ſo, forbearing to be longer troubleſome to your more ſerious Employments, reſteth

The meaneſt of your Sonnes
or Nephewes

Thomas Fuller.

TO

TO THE LEARNED AND MY WORTHY GOOD FRIEND, Maſter Charles Herle.

SIR,

WHen I read a Pamphlet of M. *Saltmarſh* written againſt me, it ſomething moved my Affections, but nothing removed my Judgement. But when I ſaw it recommended to the world with your Approbation, in this manner,

" Nihil invenio in hoc Libello, cui Titulus,
" (*Examinations, or a diſcovery of ſome dangerous Po-*
" *ſitions, delivered in a Sermon of Reformation Prea-*
" *ched by Tho. Fuller*, B. D. quin utiliter imprimatur.

Charles Herle.

I muſt confeſſe it troubled me not a little, ſuſpecting either my Eyes or my Underſtanding, that either I miſread *your Name*, or had miſ-written ſomething in my Sermon. Wherefore fearing Partiality might blind me in mine Owne Book (knowing that *Eli* was not the onely Indulgent Father to his owne Off-ſpring) I imparted my Sermon to ſome whom you reſpect, and they reſpect you: Men of ſingular Learning and Piety, to Examine it. Theſe likewiſe could diſcover no dangerous Poſitions in it, exeept ſuch as were dangerous for a Preacher to deliver, but ſafe for People to Receive in theſe Troubleſome Times. And I am Confident that their Iudgement was ſuch, They would not be deceived with my Falſehoods: and their Honeſty ſuch, They would not deceive me by their Flattery.

And now Sir (Love cannot Hate, but it may juſtly be Angry) Conſider how your accuſing of me, to maintaine dangerous Poſitions, might, as the Times ſtand, have undone me and mine, and at leaſt have intituled mee to a Priſon, now adayes the Grave of men alive. Times are not as formerly, when Schollers might ſafely Traverſe a Controverſie in diſputation. Honourable Tilting is left off, ſince men fell to down-right killing; and in vaine ſhould I diſpute my Innocence againſt Souldiers violence, who would interpret the Accuſation of a man of your Credit to be my ſufficient Conviction.

I have in this *my Defence*, ſo well as God did Enable me, more clearely expreſſed, and ſtrongly confirmed the Poſitions I formerly delivered, and requeſt you to tell mee, which are the dangerous Points that here I mainetaine. By the Lawes of our Land, the Creditor hath his Choice, whether he will ſue the Principall, or the

the Surety, and diſcretion will adviſe him, to ſue him which is moſt ſolveable. Your Ability is ſufficiently knowne, and ſeeing you have beene pleaſed to be bound for Maſter *Saltmarſh* his Booke, in your Approving it: blame me not Sir, if I (I will not ſay ſue you) but Sue to you for my Reparation.

If you can Convince me of my Faults herein (and I will bring great deſire, and ſome capacity to Learne from you) I ſhall owne my ſelfe your Proſelyte, thanke God for you, and you for my Converſion. Yea in a Printed ſheet I will doe publique Penance to the open view of the World, to ſhew men, that although I had ſo much Ignorance as to Erre, I have not ſo much Impudence as to Perſiſt in an Errour, and ſhall remaine,

Yours in all Chriſtian Offices.

THOMAS FULLER.

To the Reverend and his Worthy good Friend, Master *IOHN DOWNAM.*

SIR,

BEing about to read Master *Saltmarsh* his examination of a Sermon of mine, which you (to the Preachers credit, and Printers security) were pleased to approve for *Orthodox and Vsefull*, mine eyes in the beginning thereof, were entertained (I cannot say welcomed) with this following note,

An Advertisement returned to the Author, by a Reverend Divine, to certifie him touching the Licensers allowance of Master Fullers *late Sermon of Reformation.*

'Sir, *To satisfie you concerning M. Downams approbation* 'of Master Fullers *Sermon of Reformation, I assure you I* 'heard him complaine, *that he was wronged by him, in that ha-* 'ving taken exception at some passages of that *Sermon*, Ma- 'ster Fuller *promised to amend them according to his cor-* 'rection, *but that he did not performe what he promised.*

Conclude me not guilty if I were moved, but senceless if I had not beene perplext with this accusation. Had it beene true, I want a word bad enough to expresse the

the foulenesse of my deed. Yea iustly may my preaching be suspected of falshood, if my practise be convicted of dishonesty. We know how the Corinthians, from the suppoſed breach of S. *Pauls* ſolemne promiſe, were ready to infer the falſity, at leaſt the levity of his doctrine, till the Apoſtle had rectified their miſtake. This added alſo to my trouble, that I can privately enjoy my innocence with more contentment to my ſelfe, then I can publikly declare it with ſafety to others. For the preſent therefore, all that I will returne, is this. 2 Cor. 1. 17, 18.

Here is an Accuſation without a witneſſe, or a witneſſe without a name, and both without truth. Would the Inke of this reverend Divine (whoſoever he was) only hold out to blot my name, and not to ſubſcribe his owne? We know what Court was complayned of, as a great grievance, becauſe Men therein might not know their Accuſers. If it cannot conſiſt with our mutuall ſafety, to have my accuſers (as S. *Paul* had) *face to face*, yet it will ſtand with equity, I ſhould have them name to name: till when, I account this nameleſſe note, no better then a Libel both on you and me. Acts 25. 16.

God put an end unto theſe wofull times, before they put an end to us; that all outward hoſtility being laid aſide, we may have more leiſure to attend, and comfort to follow, that inward *Chriſtian Wareſare*, which your paines have ſo well deſcribed.

Yours in Chriſt Ieſus
Thomas Fuller.

To Master *JOHN SALTMARSH*
Minister of *Heslerton* in Yorke-shire.

SIR,

YOu have almost converted me, to be of your opinion, that some *extraordinary Light* is peculiarly conferred on men in this age. Seeing what cost me many dayes to make, you in fewer houres, could make void and confute. You *examined* (you say) *the same pace, you read*, and (as is intimated) wrote as fast, as you examined, and all *in one afternoon*. This if it were false, I wonder you would say it; and if it were true, I wonder you could doe it. However I commend your policy herein: for besides that you have given the world notice of the Pregnancie of your parts, (and it is no fault of yours, if you be rather heard then beleeved) hereby you have done me a great disadvantage. For if I at leisure discover some notable errors in your examinations, you have a present Plea, that you wrote them suddenly, and I shall only be repaired for the wrong that you have done me, with your *raptim scripta*, whereas you had done *God as much Glory*, the cause as much good, more right to your selfe, and credit to me, if you had tooke more time, and more truely.

And now consider, you only endeavour to confute some dismembred sentences of my Sermon, of which some

ſome are falſely, and more of them imperfectly alleged. You know, how in a continued ſpeech, one part receives and returnes ſtrength and luſtre unto another. And how eaſie is it, to overthrow the ſtrongeſt ſentence, when it is cut off from the Aſſiſtance of the Coherence, before and after it? Alas, this diſioynting of things, undoeth kingdomes as well as ſermons, whileſt even weake matters are preſerved by their owne unity and entireneſſe. I have dealt more fairely with you, and ſet downe your whole Examinations, thereby not expecting any praiſe, but preventing juſt cenſure, if I had done otherwiſe.

If you demand why my anſwer comes ſo late, ſeeing ſo long ſilence may be interpreted a conſent. Know Sir, it was the tenth of September, before either friend in love, would doe me the favour: or foe in anger, the diſcourteſie, to convey your booke unto me.

Whether this proceeded from the intercepting commerce betwixt the City and the Country, or that your Booke was loath to come out of London: as ſenſible, that the ſtrength of your poſitions, conſiſted in the fortifications thereof.

When I had received one of your bookes, I had not your preſent parts to anſwer it. Men muſt doe, as they may doe: I hope, though my credit may, Gods cauſe ſhall not ſuffer by my delay; ſeeing Truth doth not abate with time. Here I ſpeake not of thoſe many afflictions, that have befalne me, as not being ſo unreaſonable, as to expect any pitty from others, in theſe dolefull dayes, wherin none are at leiſure to bemoane the miſery of any private men, whilſt the generall Calamity ingroſſeth all greife to it ſelfe; and yet, I may ſay, ſuch loſſes could not but diſturbe my ſtudies.

When

When I had finiſhed my anſwer, I could not ſo ſpeedily provide to have it printed. And to ſpeake plainely, I was adviſed by my beſt friends, to paſſe by your pamphlet altogether with ſilence and neglect, and apply my ſelfe onely to enlarge my Sermon, for the ſatisfaction of others.

However, that you may ſee I will not decline any thing: I have anſwered every operative paſſage in your Examination.

Here I might take juſt exception at the ſentence prefixed in the title page of your booke, 2 Tim. 3.5. *Having a forme of Godlineſſe, but denying the power thereof.* Out of the whole quiver of the Bible, could you chooſe no other Arrow to ſhoot, and make me your marke? whom if you taxe for a *meere formaliſt*; God grant I may make a good uſe of your bad ſuſpition of me, endeavouring to acquit my ſelfe in Heaven, whom you have accuſed on Earth: I muſt *ſtand or fall to my owne Maſter*, to whom I hope I ſhall *ſtand*, being held up by my Saviour. Remember, remember, we muſt all appeare before *Gods Judgment Seat*, when thoſe things which *have been done in ſecret*, ſhall be brought to light. Meane time goe you on, a faſt as you can in the high way to heaven; but be not too free, willfully to daſh your fellow travellers, with foule aſperſions: for if dirt may paſſe for coine, debts in this nature, may eaſily be paid you backe againe, ſo reſteth

Thomas Fuller.

TO

TO MY DEARE PARISH SAINT MARY SAVOY.

MY deare Pariſh, for ſo I dare call you, as conceiving that although my calamities have divorced me from your bed and board, the matrimoniall knot betwixt us is not yet reſcinded. No not although you have admitted another, (for feare I hope rather then affection) into my place. I remember how *David* when forced to fly from his wife, yet ſtill cals her, *My wife Michall:* even when at that time, ſhe was in the poſſeſſion of *Phaltiel* the ſonne of *Laiſh*, who had rather bedded then wedded her. 2 Sam. 3. 14.

This Sermon I firſt made for your ſake, as providing it, not as a feaſt to entertaine ſtrangers, but a meale to feed my family. And now having againe inlarged and confirmed it, I preſent it to you, as having therein a proper intereſt, being confident, that nothing but good and profitable truth is therein contain'd.

Some perchance will obiect, that if my Sermon were ſo true, why then did I preſently leave the pariſh when I had preached it? My anſwer is legible in the Capital letters of other miniſters miſerie, who remaine in the City. I went away, *for the preſent diſtreſſe*, thereby reſerving my ſelfe to doe you longer and better ſervice? if Gods providence ſhall ever reſtore me unto you againe. And if any tax mee as *Laban* taxed *Iacob*. *Wherefore didſt thou flee away ſecretly*, without taking ſolemne leave? I ſay with *Iacob* to *Laban*, *becauſe I was afraid*. And that plaine dealing Patriarch, who could not be accuſed for purloining a ſhooe latchet of other mens goods, confeſſeth himſelfe guilty of that lawfull felony, that hee *ſtole away* for his owne ſafety: ſeeing truth it ſelfe may ſometimes ſeeke corners, not as fearing her cauſe, but as ſuſpecting her judge.

1 Cor. 7. 26.

Gen. 31. 27.

Gen. 31. 31.

And now all that I have to ſay to you, is this, *Take heed how you heare*: imitate the wiſe and noble *Bereans*, whatſoever the Doctor, or doctrine bee which teacheth, or is taught unto you. *Search the Scripture dayly whether theſe things be ſo*. Hanſell this my counſell, on this my booke: and here beginning, hence proceed to examine all Sermons, by the ſame rule of Gods word.

Luk. 8. 18. Acts 17. 11.

Only this I adde alſo, Pray daily to God, to ſend us a good and happy Peace; before we be all brought to utter confuſion. You know, how I in all my Sermons unto you, by leave of my Text, would have a paſſage in the praiſe of Peace. Still I am of the ſame opinion. The longer I ſee this warre, the leſſe I like it, and the more I loath it. Not ſo much becauſe it threatens temporall ruine to our Kingdome, as becauſe it will bring a generall ſpiri-

tuall

tuall hardneſſe of hearts, And if this warre long continues, we may be affected for the departure of *charity*, as the *Epheſians* were at the going away of Saint *Paul*, *Sorrowing moſt of all, that we ſhall ſee the face thereof no more.* Act. 20. 38. Strive therefore in your prayers that, that happy condition which our ſinnes made us unworthy to hold, our repentance may, through Gods acceptance thereof, make us worthy to regaine.

Your Loving Miniſter

THOMAS FULLER.

To the unpartiall Reader.

BE not affraid to peruſe my Poſitions, though they be accuſed to bee dangerous. The Saints did not feare infection from the company of Saint *Paul*, though he was indicted to be a *Peſtilent Fellow*.

Acts 24.5.

To acquaint you with my intentions in this Book (that ſo you may proportion your expectation accordingly) Herein I have to my Power vindicated the truth: conſulting with my conſcience, not outward ſafety; Inſomuch that I care not whom I diſpleaſed, to pleaſe *the Bird in my Breaſt*. Yea when the actions of other men, have by the Examiner beene laid to my charge, I have tooke the boldneſſe to leave them to their Authors to defend. For though Honeſtie commands me to pay my owne debts, yet diſcretion adviſeth me from *Solomons* mouth, to avoid *Sureti-ſhip*, and not to Breake my ſelfe with being bound for the Errors of others.

Pro. 11.15.

I cannot but expect to procure the Ill-will of many, becauſe I have gone in a middle and moderate way, betwixt all extremities. I remember a ſtory too truely appliable to me. Once a Jayler demanded of a Priſoner, newly committed unto him: whether or no he were a Roman Catholick. No, anſwered he: what then ſaid he *are you an Anabaptiſt?* Neither replied the Priſoner, What, (ſaid the other) *are you a Browniſt. Nor ſo* ſaid the man

man, *I am a Proteſtant*. Then ſaid the Jayler, get you into the dungeon: I will afford no favor to you, who ſhall get no profit by you: Had you beene of any of the other religions, ſome hope I had to gaine by the viſits of ſuch as are of your owne profeſſion. Iam likely to finde no better uſage, in this age, who profeſſe my ſelfe to be a plaine Proteſtant, without wealt or garde, or any Addition: equally oppoſite to all *Hereticks* and *Sectaries*.

Let me mate this with another obſervation. By the Law *of the twelve Tables*, if a man were indebted but to one creditor, he had no Power over his body: but if he owed mony to many, and was not ſolvable, all his creditors together might ſhare his body betwixt them, and by joynt conſent pluck him in peeces. Me thinks, a good Morall lurkes in this cruell Law: namely, that men who oppoſe one adverſary alone, may come off and ſhift pretty well, whilſt he who provokes many enemies, muſt expect to bee torne aſunder: and thus the poore *Levite*, will bee rent into as many pieces, as the *Levites wife* was. Bodin de Repub. lib. 1. p 50. Iudg. 19. 29.

Yet I take not my ſelfe to bee of ſo deſolate and forlorne a Religion, as to have no fellow profeſſors with me. If I thought ſo, I ſhould not only ſuſpect, but condemne my judgement: having ever as much loved ſingleneſſe of heart, as I have hated ſingularity of opinion. I conceive not my ſelfe like *Eliah to be left alone*: having, as I am confident, in England, more then ſeventy thouſand, juſt of the ſame Religion with me. And amongſt theſe, there is one in price and value, eminently *worth tenne thouſand*, even our gratious Soveraigne, whom God in ſafety and honour long preſerve amongſt us. 1 King. 19 14.

And here I muſt waſh away an aſperſion, generally,

but falſely caſt on men of my profeſſion and temper: for all *moderate* men, are commonly condemned for *Lukewarme*

As it is true, *Sæpe latet vitium proximitate boni.*

It is as true, *Sæpe latet virtus proximitate mali.*

And as Lukewarmneſſe hath often fared the better (the more mens ignorance) for pretending neighbourhood to moderation: ſo Moderation (the more her wrong) hath many times ſuffered for having ſome ſuppoſed vicinity with lukewarmneſſe. However they are at a grand diſtance, Moderation being an wholeſome Cordiall to the ſoule: whilſt lukewarmneſſe (a temper which ſeekes to reconcile hot and cold) is ſo diſtaſtefull, that *health it ſelfe* ſeemes ſick of it, and vomits it out. And we may obſerve theſe differences betwixt them. Rev. 3 16.

Firſt the Lukewarme man (though it be hard to tell what he is; who knowes not what he is himſelfe) is fix't to no one opinion, and hath no certain creed to beleeve; Whereas the Moderate man, ſticks to his principles, taking Truth whereſoever he findes it, in the opinions of friend, or foe; gathering an herb, though in a ditch: and throwing away a weed, though in a Garden.

Secondly, the Lukewarme man, is both the archer and marke himſelfe; aiming only at his owne outward ſecurity. The Moderate man, levels at the glory of God, the quiet of the Church, the chooſing of the Truth, and contenting of his conſcience.

Laſtly, the Lukewarme man, as hee will live in any Religion, ſo he will dye for none. The Moderate man, what he hath warily choſen, will valiantly maintaine, at leaſt wiſe intends, and deſires to defend it, to the death.

The

The *Kingdome of Heaven* (ſaith our Saviour) *ſuffereth violence*. And in this ſenſe, I may ſay, the moſt moderate men are the moſt violent, and will not abate an hooſe, or haires breadth, in their Opinions, whatſoever it coſt them. And time will come, when Moderate men, ſhall be honoured as *Gods Doves*, though now they be hooted at, as *Owles in the Deſart*. Mat. 11. 12.

But my Letter ſwels too great, I muſt break off. Only requeſting the reader by all obligations of charity. Firſt, to read over my *Sermon*, before he entreth on the *Examination*. To conclude, when I was laſt in *London*, it was generally reported that I was dead: nor was I diſpleaſed to heare it. May I learne from hence with the Apoſtle, *To Die daily*. And becauſe to God alone tis known, how ſoon my death may come, I deſire to ſet forth this book as my *Will and Teſtament*, which if it can be of no uſe to the reader, it may be ſome eaſe and comfort to the writer, that the world may know, in this multitude of Religions, what is the Religion of

Thy Servant in Chriſt Ieſus

Thomas Fuller.

TRUTH Maintained.

EXAMINER.

The [A] Policy of the Sermon of Reformation.

THE Scope of the *Sermon* is Reformation, but it ſo [B] moderates, ſo modificates, and conditionates the *Perſons*, and *Time*, and *Buſineſſe*, that Reformation can advance [C] little in this way, or Method. As our Aſtronomers who draw ſo many Lines and imaginary Circles in the Heavens, that they put the Sunne into an heavenly Labyrinth and learned [D] perplexity; ſuch is the *Zodiack* [E] you would make for the light of the Goſpell, and the Sunne of Reformation to move in. It was one of the Policyes of the *Jewes* [F] *Adverſaries*, that when they heard of their Buildings, they would build with them. *They ſaid, let us build with you, for we ſeeke your God as you doe.* But the People of God would have no ſuch Helpers, there is no ſuch [G] Jeſuiticall way to hinder our worke as to work with us, and under ſuch Inſinuations ſet the Builders at variance when they ſhould fall to labour. And how eaſie is it to reaſon Fleſh and Blood back from a good way, and good Reſolutions? I remember the *old* [H] *Prophet* had ſoon perſwaded even the man of God to returne when he told him *I am a Prophet as thou art.* 1 King. 13. 18.

Treatiſe.

A. *The Policy of the Sermon.)* Such carnall Policy wherein the ſubtilty of the Serpent ſtings the ſimplicity of the Dove to death, I utterly diſclaim in my Sermon. Chriſtian Policy is neceſſary, as in our Practice ſo in our Preaching, for Piety is alwayes to goe before it, but never to goe without it.

B. *But it ſo moderates and modificates.)* The moſt Civill Actions will turne wild, if not warily moderated. But if my Sermon clogges Reformation with falſe or needleſſe Qualifications (till the ſtrength of the matter leakes out at them) my guilt is great. I am confident of my Innocence, let the Evidence be produced and the Reader judge.

C. *That Reformation can advance but little in this way.)* Know that *Zoar a Little one* that is laſting, is better then a great Babel of Confuſion. That Reformation which begins ſlowly and ſurely, will proceed cheerfully and comfortably, and continue conſtantly and durably. Builders are content to have their Foundations creepe, that ſo their Superſtructures may runne; let us make our Ground-worke good, and no more haſt then good ſpeed.

D. *They put the Sunne into an heavenly Labyrinth and learned perplexity with their imaginary Lines.)* This your ſtrong line more perplexeth me to underſtand it: Onely this I know, that you might have inſtanced more properly in any other Planet which is more loaden with Cycles, and Epicycles, whilſt the Sunne hath found from Aſtronomers this favour and freedome, to be left to the ſimpleſt Motion.

E. *Such a Zodiack you would make for the light of the Goſpell.)* were I to ſpread the Zodiack of the Goſpell, it ſhould ſtretch from Pole to Pole, and be adequate to the Heavens. There ſhould be no more Pagans in the World
2 Sam. 13. 19. then there were Smiths *at one time* in Iſrael; not that I would

would have any kild, but all converted; yea the Sunne of Reformation ſhould not have ſo much darkneſſe as a ſhadow to follow it. To effect this, my wiſhes are as ſtrong as my power is weake. I will (God willing) pray and preach for it, and therefore doe not ſlander me to be *an Hinderer of the Word.*

F.G.H. *Of the Jewes adverſaries. Jeſuiticall way. The old Prophet.*) What you ſay is as true in the Hiſtory as falſe in the Application to me. You compare me to the *Ammonites* (Adverſaries to Gods people, to Jeſuits, to the old lying Prophet. I hope the God of *Michael* the Arch-Angell will give me patience, when he that diſputed with him ſhal furniſh him others railing. And now torture me no longer with your Accuſation, come to the proofe. Jude 9.

Examiner.

I find there are three Principles animates the Sermon.

1 *How imperfect* [I] *a Church will be and a Reformation doe beſt you can.*

2 *That the light which the* [K] *Fathers had formerly, was as full and glorious as the light of theſe dayes, or rather brighter.*

3 *That none but the ſupreame Authority, or Authority* [L] *Royall, and that alone ought to begin and act in this Reformation.*

Treatiſe.

I *How imperfect a Church.*) I ſaid it and I ſay it againe; it was a Truth before your Cradle was made, and will be one after your Coffin is rotten.

K *That the light that the Fathers had formerly, was as full & glorious.* Shew me ſuch a ſillable in all the Sermon and I'le yeeld the cauſe: Not that this Poſition is falſe, but becauſe I never ſaid it; except you collect it from thoſe my words

where I ſay, that the *Moderns had a mighty advantage of the Ancients who lived in the Marches of Paganiſmes and in the time wherein the Miſtery of Iniquity began to worke.*

L. *None but the ſupreame Authority or Authority Royall.*) I ſaid that the ſupreame Authority alone in thoſe reſpective places wherein it is ſupreame, hath the lawfull calling to reforme. Thus of the three Principles which you reckon in my Sermon. The firſt I ſaid I will defend it: The ſecond I ſaid not, and doe deny it: The third I ſaid otherwiſe then you doe alleadge it. And yet even for the two latter (that you may not complaine for want of play) in due time as occaſion is offered, I will fully diſcover my opinion, that ſo we may eitheir freely agree, or fairely diſſent.

Examiner.

Theſe are your principles, and let M any judge if this be a Qualification fit for him, that judges or writes of ſuch a Truth. For firſt, he that conceits there can be *no Perfection in a* Church, will N ſcarce labour to make that Church better, which he is ſure will be bad at all times: Nor will he care for *any new light*, whilſt the old is in beſt reputation with him: nor will he ſeeke to advance the worke, but ſtay for a ſupreame Authority alone: A good policy to ſtay the Reformation till His Majeſties returne, and there is hopes it may coole in their hands.

Treatiſe.

M, *And let any judge.*) On Gods bleſſing ſet any indifferent perſon, who is deveſted of prejudice, which maketh a bad witneſſe and a worſe judge: And now we joyne Iſſues.

N. *For firſt, he that conceits there can be no perfection in a Church, will ſcarce labour to make that Church better.*) If the

the *He* you ſpake of be a meere carnall man, this nor any other principle (ſave Grace and Gods Spirit) can ſpurre him on to goodneſſe. But if this *He* be a regenerate man, this doctrine will make him tire no whit the ſooner in his endeavours of Reformation. You ſay, *he will ſcarce labour*, whereby you confeſſe he will labour. The Grammarian ſaith, *Quod fere fit, non fit, quod vix fit, fit.* One *ſcarce* is better then ten thouſand *almoſts*. Yet I perceive by the ſcant meaſure in your expreſsion, that you conceive this Doctrine of the impoſsibility of a Churches perfection on earth, to be but a backe friend to Reformation. Heare therefore what I anſwer for my ſelfe.

1 The Doctrine of the impoſſibility of a Churches perfection in this world, being well underſtood, begets not lazineſſe but the more induſtry in wiſe reformers

First, hereby you furniſh the papiſts with a Cavill, and with a Colour to enforce the ſame againſt the Proteſtants. For we teach and maintaine, that the beſt workes of men are ſtained with ſome imperfections. Hence the papiſts may inferre, *That he that conceits there can be no perfection in a good deed, will ſcarce labour to doe one.* And thus our Doctrine ſhall be condemned for diſheartning of holineſſe. See Sir how you meet popery in your undiſcreet ſhunning of it.

Secondly, though there can be no abſolute perfection in a Church, yet *quo ad gradum*, in ſome good degree it is attainable, and all good men will endeavour it. Mariners which make forth for the Northerne Diſcoveries, goe out with this aſſurance, that it is impoſſible to come to the pole. Yet have they ſought and found out very farre, almoſt to the eightieth degree of latitude. What covetouſneſſe or curioſity did in them, ſure Grace is as active to doe in Gods Children who will labour *to draw neere* to a perfect Reformation, in obedience to Gods command, though they know they ſhall never fully attaine unto it.

Thirdly, the Doctrine of the impoſſibility of a perfect Reformation in this world well underſtood, begets not idleneſſe, but the more induſtry in mens endeavours. For thoſe that beleeve that the perfection of a Church may be attain-

ed in this life, are ſubject to this miſtake (one errour is procreative of another) to thinke that ſometimes they themſelves have attained it, and ſo ending in the midſt of their journey, may ſit downe and take up their reſt: Whereas thoſe who conceive the impoſſibility of perfection are kept in conſtant doing, having ſtill *plus ultra*. with Saint *Paul, forgetting thoſe things that are behind, they reach forth to thoſe things which are before, and preſſe towards the marke.*

Phil. 3. 13.

Fourthly, if it be objected that the impoſſibility of perfection diſcourageth men to endeavour it, ſeeing they cannot rationally deſire it, *non eſt voluntas impoſſibilium*, it is no levell wiſh aimed at a marke, but a Velleity ſhot at randome, which deſires an impoſſibility. It is anſwered, that Gods ſervants endeavouring a perfect Reformation, doe not light on a labour in vaine, that which is wanting in them being ſupplyed in Gods acceptance: If they doe their beſt, their deſire is taken for the deed: The deformities of their imperfect Reformation being pardoned by God in Chriſt, in which reſpect, *their labours are not in vaine in the Lord.*

Laſtly, ſeeing this point of the impoſſibility of a Churches perfection is moſt true (as hereafter we ſhall make ſo appeare) if hereupon any grow remiſſe and large in Reforming, it is not the fault of Gods ſtraight Doctrine, but of mens crooked practice: For if men inferre helliſh Concluſions from heavenly premiſes, ſuch bad conſequences are not the lawfull Children of Gods Truth, but the Baſtards of mans corruption, where they are juſtly to be fathered for their maintenance. And now I ſuppoſe that your exception in thoſe your words *will ſcarce labour*, is abundantly anſwered.

O. *Nor will we care for any new light, whilſt the old is in beſt reputation with him.*) This is grounded on what I never ſaid, but if by the *old light* be meant that which ſhined from the Ancient of dayes into the Scriptures and thence through the Fathers to us, I preferre it before any new light whatſoever.

P. *A good policy to ſtay the Reformation till His Majeſties returne.*) It need not have ſtayed till His Majeſties returne, which might have been done before His going away; who ſo often and ſo earneſtly offered to reforme whatſoever could juſtly be convinced to be amiſſe in our Church; which proffers had they been as thankfully accepted, as they were graciouſly tendered, long ſince it had been done what we now diſpute of, though it matters not for the ſpilling of our inke, if other mens blood had beene ſpared. And I doubt not when opportunity is offered His Majeſty will make good his word, whom no Vollyes of diſcurteſies though diſcharged never ſo thicke againſt him, ſhall drive him from His Princely Promiſe, whilſt he lookes not downewards on mens behaviour to him, but upwards to his Proteſtations to God, learning from Him whom he repreſents to be *Unchangeable*. But if (which God forefend, and yet all earthly things are caſuall) it ſhould come to paſſe, that in point of Reformation, what formerly was proffered by the Sovereigne, and refuſed by the Subject, ſhould hereafter be requeſted by the Subject, and denied by the Sovereigne; we ſhall have leiſure enough to admire Gods Juſtice, bemoane our owne condition, and inſtruct our Poſterity not to outſtand good offers, leaſt for want of ſeeing their happineſſe they feele their owne miſery. But to returne to your mentioning of His Majeſties return; when all is done for ought I can ſee, Reformation muſt ſtay till His Majeſties returne. As for the time and manner thereof when and how it ſhall be done, God in his wiſdome and goodneſſe ſo order it, that it may be moſt for his glory, the Kings honour, the good of the Church and State. But this I ſay againe, that till this his returning, the generall enjoyning and peaceable practiſing of any Reformation cannot be performed.

Q. *And then there is hope it may coole in their hands.*) If by their hands you meane his Majeſties (and what elſe can your words import) it is as diſloyall a ſuſpition, as his would

would be an unfitting expreſſion that ſhould ſay, that Reformation would boyle over in the hands of the Parliament. But Sir, thus farre you have excepted againſt my Sermon in generall, now you are pleaſed to contute ſome particulars thereof.

Sermon Paragraffe 10.

"Withall we falſly deny that Queene *Elizabeth* left the "duſt behind the doore, which ſhe caſt on the dunghill, "whence this uncivill expreſſion is raked up. The Doctrine "by her eſtabliſhed, and by her Succeſſors maintained in "the 39. Articles if declared, explained and aſſerted from "falſe gloſſes, hath all gold, no duſt or droſſe in them.

Examiner.

I will not detract from the Religious huſwifry of ſuch a Queene of famous memory, but we know her *Reformation* is talk'd of now in a Politicke R Reverence, and we are commended backe into her times onely to hinder us from going forward in our owne; for I am ſure till this Engine was contrived, Shee was not ſuch a Saint in the *Prelates* S *Calender*.

Treatiſe.

R. If there be any ſo baſe that they now make Queene *Elizabeths* Reformation their protection, which formerly they diſdained (running in raine to that buſh for ſhelter, which they meane to burne in faire weather) ſhame light on them for their hypocriſie. Let ſuch be ſtript naked to their utter diſgrace, who onely weare the Memory of that worthy Queene to cloke and cover them in their neceſſity, whoſe Reformation was ſigned with ſucceſſe from Heaven; our Nation in her time being as famous for forreigne Atchievements

chivements as now it is infamous for home-bred diſſentions. Yet God forbid our eyes ſhould be ſo dazled with the luſtre of her days as not to goe forward to amend the faults thereof, if any ſuch be juſtly complained of.

S. *Shee was not ſuch a Saint in the Prelates Calender.)* I never ſaw the *Prelates Calender*, but in the late *reformed Almanacks*, I find neither *Her* nor any other for *Saints*.

EXAMINER.

For the Doctrine eſtabliſhed from Queen Elizabeths *times*, though it be not the buſineſſe ſo much of our Reformation as the 39. Articles where it dwels; yet this we know, either *the light of the Doctrine* was very dimme, or the eyes of our Biſhops T and Jeſuits. for one of them would needs ſpy Arminianiſme, and the Jeſuit Popery. And ſome will make it a Probleme; yet whether their gloſſe may accuſe the Articles, or the Article their gloſſe, ſuch Caſſanders found ſo much Latitude in our Doctrine as to attempt a V Reconciliation of their Articles and ours together.

Biſhop Montague, Franciſcus, Secta Clara.

TREATIS.

T. I expect (and ever may expect) that you would have produced ſome droſſe in our Articles, inſtancing in ſome falſe place or point contained in them, and then I muſt either have yeelded to you with diſgrace, or oppoſed you with diſadvantage. But inſtead of this, you only tell us how ſome have ſeene Arminianiſme and Popery in them. I anſwer: So the Papiſts doe read every point of Popery where you will ſay it was never written in the Scripture. Thoſe who bring the jaundies in their eyes doe find yellowneſſe in every object they behold; and nothing can be ſo cautiouſly pen'd, but ingaged perſons will conſtrue it to favour their opinions.

V. *As to attempt a reconciliation of their Articles and*

ours together.) Thus many *Egyptian* K^s. attempted to let the red sea into the Mediterranian. A project at first seeming easie to such as measured their neerneſſe by the eye and at last found impoſſible by thoſe who ſurveyed their diſtance by their judgment; ſeeing art & induſtry can never marry thoſe things whoſe bands Nature doth forbid. And I am confident that with the ſame ſucces, any ſhal undertak the Accommodating of Engliſh and Romiſh Articles. Nor can the wiſeſt Church in ſuch a Caſe provide againſt the boldneſſe of mens attempting, though they may prevent their endeavours from taking effect. For my owne Opinion, as on the one ſide, I ſhould be loath that the Bels ſhould be taken downe out of the ſteeple and new-caſt every time that unwiſe people tune them to their *Thinke*: So on the other ſide, I would not have any juſt advantage given in our Articles to our Adverſaries. However, what you ſay confutes not, but confirmes my words in my Sermon, that the 39. Articles need *declaring, explaining and aſſerting from falſe gloſſes.* And ſeeing it is the peculiar Priviledge of Gods Word to be perfect at once and for ever, on Gods bleſſing let the darke words in our Articles be expounded by cleerer, doubtfull expreſſed in plainer, improper exchanged for fitter, what is ſuperfluous be removed wanting ſupplyed, too large contracted, too ſhort enlarged alwayes provided that this be done by thoſe who have calling, knowledge and diſcretion to doe it.

SERMON Paragraffe 11.

"Againe, we freely confeſſe that there may be ſome "faults in our Church in matters of practiſe and Ceremo- "nies, and no wonder if there be it would be a miracle if "there were not. Beſides, there be ſome Innovations ra- "ther in the Church then of the Church. as not chargeable "on the publike Account, but on private mens ſcores, who "are old enough, let them anſwer for themſelves.

Examiner.

EXAMINER.

Theſe are but ſubtill [W] Apologies and diſtinctions, for the [X] ſuperſtitions in the Church and to take off the eyes of the Reformers, and entertaine them into changeable diſcourſes, as if they were faults and no faults, and thoſe that were, were irreformable, and could not be made better. And thus while the errours of our Church ſhould call them to reforme, your difficulties [Y] and impoſſibilities would call them off. You ſay it were a Miracle to have none: This is ſuch Sophiſtry as the malignity of your Clergy would caſt in the way of our Reformation. And for the [A] Innovations they have beene made by your moſt learned the immediate iſſues of our Church, our Rubrick and practiſe have beene called to witneſſe it; therefore goe not on to perſwade ſuch a [B] Fundamentall Integrity and Eſſentiall Purity. You know in what a caſe that [C] *Church* was when ſhe thought *her ſelfe rich, and full, and glorious.* He is no leſſe an enemy to the Patient then to the Phyſitian that would perſwade him that all is well or at the leſt incurable.

TREATISE.

W. *Theſe are but ſubtill Apologies.)* Truly no ſuch matter; they are even plaine and downeright confeſſions from the ſimplicity of my heart.

X. *For the ſuperſtitions in the Church.)* Sir, lay not your Enditement higher then you are ſure your proof will reach. You might have done well to have inſiſted on ſome particulars, whilſt now your generals accuſe much, convict nothing.

Y. *Your difficulties and impoſſibilities would call them off.)* Not ſo; for to ſhew wiſe Reformers the true difficulties of their worke will quicken not quench their endeavours. Thus the Carpenter being truly told that the wood is hard, he is

to hew, will therefore not throw away his Axe, but ſtrike with the greater force. And that the Doctrine of the impoſſibility of a Churches perfect Reformation on earth well underſtood, is no hinderer to mens Labours to Reforme, hath been largely proved before.

Z. *You ſay, it were a Miracle for a Church to have no faults: This is ſuch ſophiſtry as the Malignity of your Clergy would caſt in the way of our Reformation.)* This ſophiſtry will at laſt prove good Logick, and whatſoever you pretend of *Malignity*, this is a truth to be confided in: Namely, That no Church in this world can be ſo compleat, but it will have faults. For the Church being a body conſiſting of imperfect men the Members thereof, the body muſt needs be imperfect alſo. This appeares by the conſtant neceſſity of Preaching, which otherwiſe might well be ſpared, and all our Sermons turned into Pſalmes, as alſo by *the power of the Keyes*, which will never ruſt in the Church for want of imployment. Yea that Petition in the Prayer of Chriſts providing for us *(and forgive us our Treſpaſſes, as we forgive them that Treſpaſſe againſt us)* were both needleſſe and falſe if men might be perfect in this world. This perchance is the reaſon why the Perfection-mongers of this Age quarrell with this Prayer, as having too much pride to confeſſe their owne faults, and too little Charity to forgive other mens, ſo ill doth a Publicans prayer fit a Phariſees mouth.

2. That the Church of England cannot juſtly be taxed with ſuperſtitious innovations.

A. *As for Innovations they have beene made by your moſt learned.)* Concerning Innovations I muſt inlarge my ſelfe. In mixt Actions wherein good and bad are blended together, we can neither chuſe nor refuſe all, but may pick out ſome, and muſt leave the reſt.

Firſt, they may better be tearmed Renovations then Innovations, as lately not new forged, but new furbiſhed. Secondly, they were not ſo many as ſome complaine. The ſuſpitious old man cryes out in the Comedy, that 600. Cooks were let into his houſe, when they were but two. Jealouſie

Jealouſie hath her hyperboles as well as her flattery. Thirdly, ſome of theſe Innovations may eaſier be rayled on then juſtly reproved; namely, ſuch as concerned the adorning of Churches, and the comlineſſe of mens behaviour in Gods ſervice, where outward decency (if not gariſh, coſtly above the Eſtates of the pariſh, mimicall affected or ſuperſtitious) is the Harbinger to provide the lodging for inward holineſſe. For ſome bodily diſtance brings our ſouls the neerer to God, with whom ſome have ſuch clowniſh familiarity, they have the leſſe friendſhip. Fourthly, if theſe gave offence, it was not for any thing in themſelves but either becauſe;

Firſt, they were challenged to be brought in without law. This often makes good matters to be ill reliſhed, honeſt men if wiſe withall, being loath to pay their obedience, before it becomes legally due.

Secondly, becauſe they ſeemed new and unuſuall, and we know how in dangerous times every well-meaning ſtranger may be ſuſpected for a ſpy till he hath given an account of himſelfe. Now few daughter-Churches had ſeen ſuch Ceremonies, though ſome of their Mother-Cathedrals could well remember them.

Thirdly, becauſe they were multiplied without any ſet number; and thoſe Ceremonies which men ſaw were indefinit, they feared would be infinit.

Fourthly, becauſe they were preſſed in ſome places without moderation. And herein ſome young men (I will not ſay ran without ſending, but) ran further then they were ſent, outſtripping them who firſt taught them to goe.

Fifthly, becauſe they were preſſed by men, ſome of whoſe perſons were otherwiſe much diſtaſted; how juſtly? let them ſeek who are concerned.

Laſtly, becauſe men complained that painfull Preaching and pious living, the life of Gods ſervice were not preſſed and practiſed with equall earneſtneſſe, as outward decency the luſtre thereof; whence their feares inferred, that the

ſhaddowes would devoure the Subſtance.

Now whereas you ſay that theſe Innovations have been made by *our moſt learned*, herein I muſt confeſſe that the ſcales of my skill are too little in them to weigh the learning of great Schollers, and to conclude who have the *moſt*. But this I know, that alwayes a diſtinction hath been made and admitted betwixt the opinions and practiſe of the moſt eminent particular Doctors (how great ſoever in place power or parts) and the Reſolutions and Commands of the Church in generall. In which reſpect, what hitherto you alleadge to the contrary, doth no whit diſprove my words, that ſuch Innovations are rather *in the Church then of the Church*, by which they were never abſolutely enjoyned nor generally received, as alwayes diſclaimed by many, and lately diſeſed by moſt.

Such indeed as uſed them out of Conſcience (I ſhould have no Conſcience to think otherwiſe of ſome) are not to be blamed if they privately practiſe them ſtill, at their own perill, till their judgements are otherwiſe informed. Such as took them up for faſhion ſake, for faſhion ſake have ſince laid them downe. Such as were frighted into them deſiſt, now their feare is removed. Laſtly, thoſe who uſed them in hope of preferment, now diſuſe them in deſpaire thereof, not to ſay ſome of them are as violent on the contrary ſide, and perchance onely wait *the Word of command* from the prevalent party to turne *Faces about* againe. In brieſe, ſeeing generally theſe Ceremonies are left off, it ſeems neither Manners nor Charity, alwayes to lay that in mens diſhes, which the Voider ſome pretty while ſince hath cleane taken away.

Say not that theſe Innovations are now rather in a ſwound then dead & likly to revive, when cheriſhed with the warmth of Authority, ſeeing His Majeſty hath often and fully proffered, that whatſoever is juſtly offenſive in them ſhall be removed, and pitty it is but that the reſt ſhould by the ſame lawfull power be re-enforced. But enough hereof, and more

more perchance then will pleaſe the Reader, though leſſe could not have ſatisfied the Writer; if I have contented any, well; If I have diſpleaſed all, I am contented.

B. *Therefore goe not on to perſwade ſuch a Fundamentall Integrity and Eſſentiall purity.)* Indeed the pains may well be ſpared, for all wiſe men are ſufficiently perſwaded thereof already. For if hereby you meane (and I would faine learne what other ſence your words are capable of) that the Church of *England* hath not as yet been *Entire* in the Fundamentals, and *Pure* in the *Eſſentials* to Salvation. We all are in a wofull Condition. Have we lived thus long in our Church, now to dye eternally therein? Seeing none can be ſaved therein if it be unſound in the Fundamentals of Religion; muſt the thouſand ſix hundred forty third yeer from Chriſt's birth, be the firſt yeer of the nativity of the Church of *England*, from which ſhe may date her Eſſentiall purity? Sir, I could at the ſame time chide you with anger, bemoane you with pitty, bluſh for you with ſhame, were it not that I conceive this paſſage fell unawares from your pen, and that you intend to gather it up againe.

C. *You know in what a caſe that Church was, when ſhee thought her ſelfe rich, and full, and glorious.)* Good Sir, accept of my ſervice to ſtay you, or elſe run on till you be ſtopt by your owne wearineſſe. Our Church never brag'd thus her ſelfe, nor any other for her; whoſe faults we have already freely confeſſed, yet maintained her to be ſound in all *Fundamentals*, and pure in all *Eſſentials*.

SERMON Paragraffe 12.

"A thorow Reformation we and all good men deſire "with as ſtrong affections, though perhaps not with ſo loud "a noyſe as any whatſoever.

EXAMINER.

If your thorow Reformation in this page be compared with your

your fourteen, fifteen, sixteen, seventeen pages, where you have bound it up with so many D Restrictions, the fallacy will soon appeare. You would smoothly tax some Brethren for clamour E and noyse in their desires after Reformation. Indeed if you could perswade the Prophets of God into silence, or slight endeavours, halfe your Designe were finished; but they have a Fire which flames into stronger expressions: If the zeale of the Prophets and F Martyrs had given no further testimony to the truth, then their own Bosomes, we had not had at this day such a cloud of witnesses; you know these loud importunities awaken and hasten men unto that holy G Businesse you would so faine retard. If you think it your vertue that you can be silent in the midst of our importunities and loud cryes after Reformation, I am sure 'tis your policy too, for should you make too great a noyse after it, you might be heard H to *Oxford*, and perhaps you are loath to speake out till you see further.

TREATIS.

D. *Fourteen, fifteen, sixteen, seventeen pages, where you have bound it up with so many Restrictions.)* Indeed I bound Reformation with Restrictions, but such as are Girdles to strengthen it, not fetters to burthen it, and thereupon no fallacy, but plaine dealing will appeare. And if those pages you instanee in be guilty of any such fault, no doubt when your examination doth come to them, you will presse it home, and I shall be ready to make my best defence.

E. *You would smoothly tax some Brethren for clamour.)* If any be faulty herein they deserve not onely to be smoothly taxed, but sharply reproved. For clamour (as the English word is taken in Scripture) sounds in a bad sense, as arguing an ill tempered Spirit with a mixture of pride and impatience. And as Reformation ought to be prosecuted and sought after with holy and zealous importunity (farre from all

Pro. 9. 13. A foolish woman is clamorous. Ephe. 4. 31. wrath and anger, and clamour.

all Lethargicall dulneſſe and carnall ſtupidity) ſo it muſt be done with a quiet and compoſed ſoule, a grace commended by the Apoſtle. Now grant none to be guilty, yet ſeeing all are ſubject (eſpecially in tumultuous times) to clamour and paſſionate extravagancies, my gentle Advertiſement by the bye could not be amiſſe. 1 Theſ. 4. 11. Study to be quiet.

F *If the zeale of the Prophets and Martyrs had given.)* I thanke you Sir for mentioning the Martyrs; They were the Champions of *paſſive obedience*, and the lively Patternes of that holy Temper I now deſcribed; Men of a meeke and quiet diſpoſition, not clamorous, though ſince their death, the noyſe and fame of their patience hath ſounded aloud thorow the whole world to all Poſterity. And I pray God in continuance of time the very Doctrine of Martyrdome be not Martyred.

G *That holy Buſineſſe you would ſo faine retard.)* I appeale from your hard Cenſure to the *Searcher of hearts*, who one day will acquit my innocence and puniſh your uncharitableneſſe, except it be firſt pardoned upon your repentance.

H *For ſhould you make ſo great a noyſe, you might be heard to* Oxford.) I care not how farre I be heard, nor which way, to *Oxford* and beyond it, to *Geneva*, or to *Rome* it ſelfe: Truth is Calculated for all meridians. But ſpeake not ſlightingly of *Oxford*, it is ill wounding of a Court, and a Camp, and an Univerſity, and all in one word.

I *And perhaps you are loath to ſpeak out till you ſee farther.)* I ſee too farre already; namely, that ruine and deſolation is likely to follow, except Moderation be uſed on both ſides: If you meane, *till I ſee farther* into His Majeſties pleaſure of Reforming, what ſhall be found amiſſe, his unfained deſire thereof doth already plainly appeare? But if you meane till I ſee farther into his ſucceſſe, know Sir, my Religion obſerves not the tides of His Majeſties Fortune, to ebbe and flow therewith. Where Conſcience is the Fountaine, the ſtream keeps the ſame height.

SERMON Paragraſſe 12.

"But with this Qualification, that by thorow Reforma-
"tion, we meane ſuch a one whereof we are capable, *pro ſta-*
"*tu viatorum*, made with all due and Chriſtian Modera-
tion.

EXAMINER.

You write of the Reformation of a Church like [K] *Bodin*, not like *Bucer*, you make it a worke of *Policy* [L] not of *Pie-ty*, of *Reaſon*, not *Divinity*. Such Counſellers had [M] *Jero-boam* and *Jehu*, and they made a Church as unhappy as a Kingdome miſerable. This Moderation and Qualification you ſpeak of, is not ſo conſiſtent with *ſpirituall Eſſenſes* and [N] operations: If the Spirit of God ſhould not work in the ſoules of [O] unregenerate, but expect an anſwerable Compliancy firſt, who ſhould be ſanctified? If God had expected any ſuch Congruity in our buſineſſe of ſalvation, we had been unredeemed. To ſpeak [P] cloſer, what Qualification did Queen [Q] *Elizabeth* expect when ſhee received a Kingdome warm from Popery? What Qualification did [R] *Henry* the eight expect in his Attempt againſt the Supremacy, when all his Kingdome was ſo univerſally conjured to *Rome*? Such Moderation and Qualification is no other but a diſcreet taking ſo much as will ſerve your turne. *To the law* (ſaith the Scripture) [S] *and to the Teſtimony*, *Moſes* wrought according to the Patterne, ſo *Salomon* too; godly *Bucer* makes it his worke to perſwade King *Edward* to build up a perfect Church and he [V] propheſies ſadly, that he was afraid Popery would ſucceed, becauſe the Kingdome of *England* was ſo averſe to the Kingdome of Chriſt. And we know the Marian dayes followed. me-thinkes we are too like his propheſie, and our [W] Marian times approach too faſt.

Bucer in lib. de Regno Chriſti.

Treatiſe.

TREATIS.

K *You write of a Reformation of a Church like* Bodin.) Would I wrote like *Bodin*, though on the condition that I never wrote Anſwer to your Examinations. Would we had ſome *Bodins*, ſome ſuch able Statef-men, that they might improve their parts to advance an happy Accommodation betwixt our Sovereigne and his Subjects.

L *You make it a worke of Policy not of Piety.)* I make it as indeed it is, a work both of *Moſes* and *Aaron*, wherein Piety is to be preſer'd, and Policy is not to be excluded.

M *Such Counſellours had* Jeroboam *and* Jehu.) Sir, ſhoot your Arrowes at me till your Quiver be empty, but glance not with the leaſt ſlenting inſinuation at His Majeſty, by conſequence to compare him to *Jeroboam* or *Jehu*, for their Idolatry; He knoweth how to beſtow his Gold farre better, and to leave the *Calves* for others.

N *This Moderation and Qualification you ſpeake of, is not ſo conſiſtent with ſpirituall Eſſenſes and Operations.)* This your line is not ſo conſiſtent with ſenſe, as to need much leſſe deſerve a Confutation.

O *If the Spirit of God ſhould not have wrought in the ſouls of Unregenerate.)* I wonder that allotting (as you ſay) but one afternoon for the whole work of your Examination you could ſpend ſo much time (ſome minutes at leaſt) in ſuch impertinencies.

P *To ſpeake cloſer.)* And truly no more then needs, for as yet you are farre enough from the matter: But I will not confute what you confeſſe.

Q *What Qualification did Queen* Elizabeth *expect.)* She needed not to expect any, when ſhe had all Requiſites to reforme. Thoſe who have ſuch Qualification are not *to expect*, but to fall a working; thoſe that want it are not to fall a working, but ſtill *to expect*. Queen *Elizabeth* as ſupream in her Dominions had a ſufficient calling to reforme, nothing was

wanting in her: Onely her Memory doth ſtill deſervedly expect a more thankfull acknowledgement of her worthy paines then generally ſhe hath received hitherto.

8. *What Qualification did* Henry *the eight expect in his attempt againſt ſupremacy?*) He likewiſe had Qualification ſufficient (and therefore needed not to expect any) as your following words doe witneſſe, wherein you ſay that *All his Kingdome was univerſally conjured to* Rome. If it was *his Kingdome*, then he had a *calling*; if it was conjured to Rome, then he had a *cauſe* to reforme: and being the King was bound to be the Exorciſt to un-conjure his Subjects from ſuch ſuperſtition: Yea, had King *Henry* reformed as ſincerely as he had a lawfull Calling thereunto, his memory had not been conſtantly kept in ſuch a purgatory of mens tongues for his lukewarme Temper, even the moſt moderate counting him too good for to be condemned, and too bad to be commended.

a Ex perpetuâ Eccleſiarum obſervatione ab ipſis iam Apoſtolis vel manuaſum & hoc eſſe ſpiritui Sancto ut inter Presbiteros quibus Eccleſiarum procuratio potiſſimum eſt commiſſa unus Eccleſiarum, & ter us Sacri Miniſterii unam generi ſingulariem eaque cura & ſolicitudine cæteris præeat alius, quæ de cauſa Epiſcopi nomen huiuſmodi ſummis Eccleſiarum Curatoribus eſt peculiaritur attributum.
Bucerus de regno Chriſti lib. 2. cap. 12.

9. *To the Law* (ſaith the Scripture) *and to the teſtimony.*) I will treaſure up this excellent paſſage till a convenient time, being confident that before the next Paragraffe is examined, I ſhall appeale to theſe Judges, and you decline them.

10. *Godly* Bucer *makes it his worke to perſwade King* Edward *to build up a perfect Church.*) The book of godly *Bucer* which you cite I have ſeene, on the ſelfe ſame token, that therein he makes [a] Biſhops to be above Presbyters *Jure divino*. You know *Bucer* wrote this worke (as leading the front of his *Opera Anglicana*) in the very beginning of King *Edwards* reigne, before the Reformation was generally received in *England*, and whilſt as yet Popery was practiſed in many places. And next to this his book followeth his gratulation to the Engliſh Church for their entertaining of the Purity of the Goſpell; ſo that what he doth perſwade in the book you alleadge, was in ſome good meaſure performed in that Ks. reign, and afterwards better compleated by Queen *Elizabeth*.

And

And he propheſied ſadly that he was afraid Popery would ſucceed.) Herein he took ſhrewd aime and it happened he hit right. Such predictions are onely obſerved when afterwards they chance to take effect: otherwiſe, if miſſing the marke, men miſſe to marke them and no notice at all is taken of them: I know a latter Divine (not the loweſt in learning, one of the higheſt in [b] zeale amongſt them) who foretelleth that *Atheiſme rather then Popery* is likely to overrunne *England*. Such Preſages may ſerve to admoniſh not to affright us, as not proceeding from a propheticall ſpirit, but reſulting from prudentiall obſervations. But before we take our farewell of this book of *Bucers*, it will not be amiſſe to remember another paſſage (not to ſay preſage) in the ſame worthy worke; that we may ſee what ſinnes in his opinion were forerunners of ruine in a Kingdome. The margin preſents the Reader with the [c] latin which I here tranſlate, though the former part thereof be engliſhed already in mens practiſe, and the latter I feare will be engliſhed in Gods judgements.

How horrible an affront doe they doe to the Divine Majeſty who uſe the Temples of the Lord for Galleries to walke in, and for places ſo prophane, that in them with their fellowes that prattle and treat of any uncleane and prophane buſineſſe. This ſure is ſo great a contempt of God, that long ſince even for this alone we have deſerved altogether to be baniſhed from the face of the earth, and to be puniſhed with heavieſt judgements.

Such I am afraid will fall on our nation for their abominable abuſing of Churches (beſides other of their ſinnes) and prophaning the places of Gods worſhip. Not to ſpeake of thoſe (and yet what man can hold his tongue when the mouthes of graves are forced open) who in a place to which their guilty conſcience can point without my pens direction did by breaking up the Sepulchers of our Saxon Chriſtian Kings, erect an everlaſting Monument to their own ſacrilledge. Such practiſes muſt needs provoke Gods anger,

[b] M. Gretenham in his grave Counſels in the word *Atheiſme*, pag. 3.

[c] *Quam horrenda illi faciunt divinæ Majeſtati contumeliam qui Templa Domini habent pro Deambulacris locisque tam prophanis ut in illis quæ vis impura & prophana cum ſimilibus ſuis garriant & pervaſilent. — Hæc certa res eſt divini numinis contemptio ut ea vel ſola prid. m meritis ſumus omnes de Terra exterminari & quidem ſupplicijs gravioribus multari.* Bucerus de Regno Chriſti lib. 1. cap. 10.

and now me-thinks I write of the Reformation of a Church like *Bucer* and not like *Bodin*.

W *Me-thinks we are too like his propheſie, and our Martan times approach too faſt.)* I hope otherwiſe; truſting on a good God and a gracious King. But if thoſe times doe come, woe be to ſuch as have been the cauſe or occaſion to bring or haſten them. One day it will be determined whether the peeviſh, perverſe and undiſcreet ſpirit of Sectaries, bringing a generall diſ-repute on the Proteſtant, hath not concurred to the inviting in of ſuperſtition and Popery, may come riding in on the back of Anabaptiſme. If thoſe times doe come, I hope that God who in juſtice layeth on the burthen, will in mercy ſtrengthen our ſhoulders, and what our prayers cannot prevent, our patience muſt undergoe. Nor is it impoſſible with God ſo to enable thoſe whom you tax *to have onely a forme of Godlineſſe*, to have ſuch *Power thereof* as to ſeale the Proteſtant Religion with their blood.

SERMON Paragraffe 13. 14.

"Such who are to be the true and proper Refor-
"mers, they muſt have a lawfull calling thereunto;
"duties which God hath impaled for ſome particular
"perſons, amongſt theſe Actions Reformation of a
"Church is chiefe. Now the ſupreame Power alone
"hath a lawfull calling to reforme a Church, as it
"plainely appeares by the Kings of *Judah* in their
"Kingdome.

EXAMINER.

I had not knowne your meaning by the lawfull cal-ling you name, but that you expound it in the lines that

that follow, to be the *calling* of the *ſupreame Magiſtrate*; as if no calling were warrantable at firſt to [X] promove a Reformation but that. But you muſt take notice there is an inward and an outward Call. The inward Call is a [Y] ſpeciall excitation from the Spirit of God, and ſuch a Call is warrantable by God to be active; I am ſure it hath beene ſufficient alwayes to ſet holy men on worke: Another Call is outward, and that is either of *Place* and *Magiſtracy*, *or publike Relation*. Now though Magiſtracy be of publike Relation, yet when I ſpeake ſpecifically of publike Relation, I meane that in which every man ſtands bound in to God and his Country; now all theſe Callings are commiſſions enough either to meddle as Chriſtianly inſpired, or Chriſtianly ingaged. In ordinary tranſactions, I know the ordinary diſpenſation is to be reſorted to; but the buſineſſe of Reformation as it is extraordinary. ſo God giveth extraordinary Conjunctures of times and circumſtances, and extraordinary concurrences, and extraordinary incitations. In the building of the Temple you ſhall ſee in *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* ſuch workings of God, when *the people were gathered together as one man*, they ſpake to *Ezra* the *Scribe* to bring the Book of the Law of *Moſes*. Here the people put on even *Ezra* to his duty. [Nehem. 8 1.]

TREATIS.

Before I deale with the particulars of this examination, I will enlarge (not alter) what I ſaid in my Sermon of this point, promiſing as much brevity as God ſhall enable me to temper with Clearneſſe, and deſiring the Readers patience whilſt at mine owne perill I deliver my opinion.

But firſt, here we promiſe neceſſary diſtinction. Diſtinguiſh

ſtinguiſh we betwixt thoſe Times, when the Church liveth under Pagan or perſecuting Princes, and when God bleſſeth her with a Chriſtian King, defender of the Faith: In the former caſe the Church may and muſt make an hard ſhift to reforme her ſelfe ſo well as ſhe can (for many things will be wanting, and more will be but meanly ſupplyed) without any relating to a ſupreame Power, whoſe leave therein will be dangerous to deſire and impoſſible to obtaine. But withall, they muſt provide themſelves to ſuffer, offering no violence, except it be to drowne a Tyrant in their teares, or to burne him with coales of kindneſſe heaped on his head. In the latter caſe, when the ſupreame Power is a nurſing Father to the Church, ſuckling it, not ſucking blood from it, the Church muſt have recourſe to it before ſhee may reforme. Reforming of a Church muſt neither ſtay behind for *Nero* his leave, nor runne before without the conſent of *Conſtantine*. Religion it ſelfe muſt not be deckt with thoſe flowers which are violently pluck'd from the Crownes of lawfull Princes.

Come we now then to ſhew, how in a Chriſtian ſtate, all are to contribute their joynt endeavours to promote a Reformation.

3 How far private Chriſtians, Miniſters and ſubordinate Magiſtrates are to concur to the advancing of a publike Reformation.

In a Church, and ſuch a State I conſider three degrees thereof. Firſt, meere private men without any mixture of a publike Relation. Secondly, perſons placed in a middle poſture with the Centurian in publike imployment over ſome, yet *under Authority* themſelves. Thirdly, the abſolute ſupreame Power, who depends of God alone.

For the firſt of theſe, meere private men; they have nothing to doe in publike reforming but to advance it by their hearty prayers to God, and to facilitate the generall Reformation, by labouring to amend their owne and their Families lives according to the Word; this

this is all God requireth of them: and more I feare then moſt of them will performe.

Next, ſucceed thoſe perſons in a middle poſture, and theſe are either Miniſters or Magiſtrates. Miniſters even the meaneſt of them have thus far their part in publike Reforming, that they are to *lift* up their *voice like a Trumpet* (though not like *Sheba* his Trumpet to ſound ſedition) both to reprove vitiouſneſſe in Manners, and to confute errors in Doctrine. And if men of power and imminent place in the Church, then as their ingagement is greater, ſo their endeavours muſt be ſtronger, to preſſe and perſwade a publike Reformation to ſuch whom it doth concerne. 2 Sam. 20. 1.

Magiſtrates may have more to doe in publike Reforming having a calling from God, who therefore hath ſet them in a middle place betwixt Prince and people, to doe good offices under the one, over the other, betwixt both. And having a calling from the King, eſpecially if they be his Counſellours, whoſe good they are to advance by all lawfull meanes, and rather to diſpleaſe him with their ſpeech, then to diſhonour him with their ſilence; and having a calling from their Country, whoſe ſafety they muſt be tender and carefull of.

Firſt, therefore they are with all induſtry (both from the Miniſters mouth and by their owne inquiry) to take true notice of ſuch defects and deformities in the Church or State as are really to be reformed. Secondly, they are with all ſincerity to repreſent the ſame to the ſupreame Power. Thirdly, with all humility to requeſt the amendment of ſuch Enormities. Fourthly, with all gravity to improve their requeſt with arguments from Gods glory, the Princes honour, the peoples profit, and the like. Laſtly, with their beſt judgement to propound and commend the faireſt way whereby a Reformation may as ſpeedily as ſafely be effected. And if they meet with difficulties in the ſupreame Power delaying their requeſt, they are not

to be diſheartned, but after their fervent prayers to God, who alone hath the hearts of Kings in his hands, they are conſtantly to renue their requeſt at times more ſeaſonable, in places more proper, with expreſſions more pathetically, having their words as full of earneſtneſſe, as their deeds farre from violence.

4. What parts therein are onely to be acted by the *ſupreame Power*.

As laſt comes the ſupreame Power, who alone is to reforme by its own Authority, though not by its owne advice alone. For becauſe it is rationally to be preſumed, that Divines have beſt skill in matters of Divinity, they are to be conſulted with; and here comes in the neceſſity and uſe of *Councels, Convocations, Synods* and Aſſemblyes. And becauſe there is not onely a conſtant correſpondency, but alſo an unſeperable complication betwixt the Church & State; Statesmen are therefore to be adviſed with in a Reformation, ſo to ſettle it as may beſt comply with the Common-wealth. For God in that generall warrant, *Let all things be done decently and in order*; puts as I may ſay the Cloath and Sheeres into the hands of the Church and Chriſtian Princes, to cut out and faſhion each particular decency and order, ſo as may ſhape and ſuit beſt with the preſent Time and Place wherein ſuch a Reformation is to be made.

Theſe parts therefore are to be acted in a Reformation by the ſupreame Power. Firſt, he is (either by his owne Motion, or at the inſtance and intreaties of others) to call and congregate ſuch Aſſemblyes. Secondly, to give them leave and liberty to conſult and debate of matters needing to be reformed. Thirdly, to accept the reſults of their conſultations, and to weigh them in the ballance of his Princely diſcretion. Fourthly, to confirme ſo much with his *Royall Aſſent* as his judgement ſhall reſolve to be neceſſary or convenient. Laſtly, to ſtamp the Character of Authority upon it, that Recuſants to obey it may be ſubject to civill puniſhments.

But now all the queſtion will be what is to be done if the endeavours of Subjects be finally returned with deafneſſe

or

or deniall in the ſupreame Power. In this caſe a pulike Reformation neither ought nor can be performed without the conſent of the ſupreame Power: It ought not,

Firſt, becauſe God will not have a Church reformed by the deforming of his Commandement. He hath ſaid *Honour thy Father and thy Mother*, and requireth that all Superiours ſhould be reſpected in their places. Secondly, the Scripture rich in Preſidents for our inſtruction in all caſes of importanee affords us not one ſingle example, wherein people attempted publiquely to reforme, without or againſt the conſent of the ſupreame Power; and in this particular, I conceive a negative Argument followeth undeniably: wherefore ſeeing the Kings in *Judah* (there the ſupreame Power) were alwayes called upon to reforme, commended for doing ſo much, or condemned for doing no more; and the people neither commanded to remove, nor reproved for not removing publique Idolatry, without the conſent of the ſupreame Power; it plainly appeareth, that a publique Reformation belongeth to the ſupreame Power, ſo that without it, it ought not to be done.

As it ought not, ſo it cannot be done without the conſent thereof; for admit that the higheſt ſubordinate Power ſhould long debate, and at laſt conclude, the moſt wholſome Rules for Reformation; yet as *Plato* ſaid, that amongſt the many good Lawes that were made, one ſtill was wanting, namely, a Law to command and oblige men to the due obſerving of thoſe Lawes which were made. So when the beſt Reſolutions are determined on by any inferiour Power, there ſtill remaines an abſolute neceſſity that the ſupreame Power ſhould bind and enforce to the obſerving thereof.

For inſtance: Some Offenders are poſſeſſed with ſuch uncleane Spirits of prophaneneſſe, *that none can bind them, no not with* Chaines of Eccleſiaſticall Cenſures, onely outward Mulcts in purſe or perſon can hold Mar. 5. 3. 4.

and hamper them. *Scythian* ſlaves muſt be ordered with whips, and a preſent priſon more affrights impudent perſons, then Hel-fire to come. In the Writs *De Excommunicato capiendo, & de Hæretico comburendo*, ſuch as ſtout at the *Excommunicato* and the *Heretico*, are notwithſtanding heartily afraid of the *Capiendo* and the *Comburendo*. Wherefore in ſuch caſes the Church when it is moſt perfectly reformed is faine to crave the aid of the State by civill and ſecular penalties, to reduce ſuch as are Rebels to Church-Cenſures (ſometimes inflicting death it ſelfe on blaſphemous Heretickes) and this cannot be performed by any ſubordinate Power, in the State, but onely by the ſupreame Power. Otherwiſe, Offenders, if preſſed by any inferiour Power would have a free Appeale and no doubt find full redreſſe from the ſupreame Power, without whoſe conſent ſuch penalties were impoſed on them.

Now if it be demanded, what at laſt remaines for any to doe, in caſe the ſupreame Power finally refuſeth to reforme: Thus they are to imploy themſelves. Firſt, to comfort themſelves in this, that they have uſed the meanes, though it was Gods pleaſure to with-hold the bleſſing. Secondly they are to reflect on themſelves, and ſeriouſly to bemoane their own ſinnes which have cauſed Gods juſtice to puniſh them in this kind. If a rhumaticke head ſends downe a conſtant flux, to the corroding of the lungs, an ill affected ſtomacke firſt ſent up the vapours which cauſed this diſtillation: And pious Subjects conceive that if God ſuffer Princes to perſiſt in dangerous errours, this diſtemper of the head came originally from the ſtomack, from the ſinnes of the people, who deſerved this affliction. Thirdly, they are to reforme their ſelves and Families, and if the ſupreame Power be offended thereat, to prepare themſelves patiently to ſuffer, whatſoever it ſhall impoſe upon them, having the ſame cauſe though not the ſame comfort, to obey a bad Prince as a good one.

By

By the way, a word in commendation of paſſive obedience: When men who cannot be active without ſinning, are paſſive without murmuring. Firſt, Chriſt ſet the principall copie thereof, leading *Captivity captive on the Croſſe*, and ever ſince he hath ſanctified ſuffering with a ſecret ſoveraigne vertue even to conquer and ſubdue perſecution. 5. Of the progreſſe and praiſe of paſſive Obedience.

Secondly, it hath beene continued from the Primitive Church by the Albigences to the moderate Proteſtants unleſſe ſome of late aſhamed of this their Maſters badge, have pluckt their cognisance from their coats, and ſet up for themſelves. *Eſt hæc pontificiorum teſſera crudelitas, aliud eſt Proteſtantium ſymbolum clementia. Illi cecidunt, Hi cecidunt* Laurentius Humphreys *in reſp. ad Epiſtolas Campiani.*

Thirdly, it is a Doctrine ſpirituall in it ſelfe. It muſt needs be good, it is ſo contrary to our bad natures and corrupt inclinations, who will affirme any thing rather then we will deny our ſelves, and our owne revengefull diſpoſitions. And ſurely the Martyrs were no leſſe commendable for their willing ſubmitting to, then for their conſtant enduring of their perſecutors cruelty. And it was as much (if not more) for them to conquer their owne vindicative ſpirits, as to undergoe the heavieſt tortures inflicted on them.

Fourthly, it is a doctrine comfortable to the Practiſers, bitter, but wholſome. Yet it is ſweetned with the inward conſolation of a cleere conſcience, which is Food in Famine, Freedome in Fetters, Health in Sickneſſe, yea, life in death.

Fifthly, it is glorious in the eyes of the beholders, who muſt needs like and love that Religion, whoſe profeſſors (where they cannot lawfully dearly ſell) doe frankly give their lives in the defence thereof.

Laſtly, it is a Doctrine fortunate in ſucceſſe. By preaching of *paſſive* obedience, *the Dove* hath out-flowne *the Eagle*. Chriſt's Kingdome hath out-ſtretched *Cæſars* Monarchy. Hereby the wiſdome of the Eaſt was ſubdued to the folly of Preaching. The Sunne of the Goſpell aroſe in

the Weſterne parts. The parched South was watered with the dew of the Word. The frozen North was thawed with the heat of Religion: But ſince the Doctrine of reſiſting the ſupreame Power came into faſhion, the Proteſtant Religion hath runne up to a high top, but ſpread nothing in breadth; few Papiſts have beene reclaimed, and no Pagans have beene converted. Alas! that ſo good a Doctrine ſhould be now in ſo great diſgrace; yet will we praiſe ſuch *ſuffering*, though we ſuffer for praiſing it. If we cannot keepe this Doctrine alive, we will grieve becauſe it is dying; being confident, that though now it be buried in ſo deepe diſhonour, God in due time will give it a glorious reſurrection. And though I muſt confeſſe, it is farre eaſier to praiſe *paſſive Obedience* then to practice it, yet to commend a vertue is one degree to the imitation of it, and to convince our judgements: Firſt, of the goodneſſe of the deede, is by Gods bleſſing one way to worke our wils to embrace it: In a word, if this Doctrine of *paſſive Obedience* be cryed downe, hereafter we may have many bookes of *Acts and Monuments*, but never more any *bookes of Martyrs*. And now theſe things premiſed, we returne to *Maſter Saltmarſh* his examination of my Sermon.

X *As if no calling were warrantable at firſt to promote a Reformation but the ſupreame Power.)* I never ſaid or thought ſo: But in what manner, and by what meanes inferiours may and muſt labour to promote it, I have at large declared.

Y *The inward call is a ſpeciall excitation from the ſpirit of God, and ſuch a call is warrantable to be active.)* I ſhall have preſently a more proper place to deale with theſe *ſpeciall excitations*, when I come to anſwer your *extraordinary incitations*.

Z *Now all theſe callings are commiſſion enough to meddle.)* I am not of ſo froward a ſpirit, as to quarrell at a word. Otherwiſe I could tell you, that *to meddle* generally importeth

porteth an over-buſineſſe in ſome Pragmaticall perſon, tampering with that which is either unlawfull in it ſelfe, or hurtfull to, at leaſt improper for the party who medleth with it, and in Scripture it is commonly uſed with a prohibition, *Meddle not.* To paſſe this by, the queſtion is not whether Magiſtrates may meddle (as you ſay) in advancing a publique Reformation; but how? and how farre they may be active therein? Therein I report the Reader to what I have largely expreſſed.

Deut. 2.5. 2 King. 14.10 Cto. 15.19. Pro.20 19. & 24.21. & 26. 17. & 20.3.

A *In ordinary tranſactions, I know the ordinary diſpenſation is to be reſorted to, but the buſineſſe of Reformation as it is extraordinary, ſo God giveth extraordinary conjunctures of Times and circumſtances, and extraordinary concurrences, and extraordinary incitations.)* Now you ſoare high, give us leave to follow you as we can. Firſt, I confeſſe that a publique Reformation is an *extraordinary worke* in this ſenſe, as not common or uſually done every day (as private amendment of particular perſons is or ought to be.) But it is a rare worke, which commeth to paſſe but ſeldome, and the doing of it is out of the road of ordinary mens imployment. But I deny a publique Reformation to be extraordinary in this acception, as if it were to be ordered or managed by any other rules or preſidents, then ſuch as are ordinary and uſuall in the Bible, where many patterns of publique Reformations are preſented; in which reſpect the ordinary diſpenſation is to be reſorted to in the performance thereof. Whereas you ſay, that in publique Reformations, *God giveth extraordinary conjunctures of Times and circumſtance, and extraordinary concurrences.* It is true in this ſenſe, that the great Clock-keeper of Time ſo orders the coincidence of all things, that when his houre is come, wherein ſuch a Reformation ſhall be made, every officious circumſtance will joyfully contribute his utmoſt aſſiſtance to the advancing thereof. Wherefore if men cannot make a Reformation without roving from their calling, or breaking

ing

ing Gods Commandement (according to which it cannot be done without the consent of the supreame Power.) Hereby it plainly appeares, that the hand of Divine Providence doth not as yet point at that happy minute of Reformation, there being as yet times distracted with jarres and disjunctures, not onely in circumstances, but even in substantiall matters requisite thereunto. And therefore seeing Gods good time may not be prevented, but must be expected, men are still patiently to wait and pray for that *conjuncture of Times* and *concurrency of circumstances*, whereof you speake.

But whereas you speake of *Extraordinary Incitations* (paralell to what you said before, of *speciall excitations* and *christianly inspired.*) In these your expressions you open a dangerous Pit, and neither cover it againe nor raile it about with any cautions, so that Passengers may unawares fall into it.

Exo.21.33-34

6. That no extraordinary excitations, incitations or inspirations are bestowed from God on men in these dayes.

For everyman who hath done an unwarrantable act, which he can neither justifie by the law of God or man, will pretend presently that he had an extraordinary Incitation for it; a fine tricke to plead Gods leave to breake his law. Nor can we disprove the impudence of such people, except we may use some touch-stones, thereby to try their counterfeit incitations; my opinion herein shall be contrived into three Propositions.

First, no such extraordinary incitations are extant now a dayes from God, as stirre men up to doe any thing contrary to his Commandements. Indeed, some such we meet with in the Scripture, where the Law-giver dispensing with his owne law, incited *Abraham* to kill his son, *Sampson* to kill himselfe, and the Isralites to rob the Egyptians. In such cases it was no disobedience to Gods publique command, but obedience to his private countermand; if the servant varied his practice according to his absolute Masters peculiar direction. But such incitations come not now a dayes but from the spirit of delusion.

Gen.22.2. Judg.16.30. Exod.12.36.

Secondly

Secondly, no extraordinary excitations are extant now a dayes from God, ſeizing on men (as anciently) in *Enthuſiaſmes*, or any ſuch raptives, as make ſenſible impreſſions on them. For theſe are within the virge of Miracles, which are now ceaſed, and our age produceth things rather monſtrous then miraculous.

Thirdly, extraordinary incitations are ſtill beſtowed by God in theſe dayes; namely, ſuch that he giveth to ſome of his ſervants; a more then uſuall and common proportion of his grace, whereby they are enabled for and incited to his ſervice with greater rigour and activity then ordinary Chriſtians. My judgement herein ſhall not be niggardly to reſtraine Gods bountifull dealing, but I verily beleeve that he who was ſo exceedingly liberall in former ages, is not ſo cloſe handed in our times, but that in this ſence he beſtoweth extraordinary motions, eſpecially on ſuch whom his Providence doth call to eminent Places, either in Church or State. But ſuch motions quicken them to *runne the way of Gods Commandements*, not to ſtart without or beſide it. And as hereby they are heightned to an Heroicall degree of Piety, ſo though ſometimes we may ſay of them in a Rhetoricall expreſſion, that *they goe beyond themſelves*, yet they never goe beyond their calling, nor never goe beyond Gods Commandements.

Now if any ſhall pretend that they have an extraordinary excitation to make a publique Reformation without the conſent of the ſupreame Power, to whom by Gods law it belongs, ſuch an excitation cannot come from the holy Ghoſt: For if the ſpirit of the Prophets be ſubject to the Prophets, much more is it ſubject to the God of the Prophets, and to the law of that God. And truly Sir, this paſſage of *extraordinary incitations*, as it is by you rawly laid downe and ſo left, containeth in it ſeed enough if well (or rather ill) husbanded, to ſow all the Kingdome with ſedition, eſpecially in an age wherein the Anabaptiſt in their

actions, beaten out of the field by Gods Word, doe daily flye to this their Fort of extraordinary excitations.

And you may obſerve when God gave *extraordinary excitations, quo ad regulam* (ſtirring up men to doe things contrary to the received rule of his Commandements) then ſuch excitations were alwayes attended with extraordinary operations. *Phinehas*, who killed *Cosby* and *Zimry*, could ſtay the plague with his prayer; and *Elias* who curſed the Captaines with their fifties, could cauſe fire to come dowre on them from Heaven. It appeares this his curſe was pronounced without malice, becauſe inflicted by a miracle. It is lawfull for ſuch to call for fire, who can make fire come at their call; and would nore would kindle diſcord on Earth, till firſt they fetcht the ſparks thereof from Heaven. Neither doe we proudly tempt Gods providence, but truly trye ſuch mens pretended extraordinary incitations, if when they wander from Gods Commandements in their Actions, and plead inſpirations, we require of them to prove the truth of ſuch inſpirations, by working a miracle.

Now Sir, you being (as it ſeemes) an oppoſite to Prelacy, would make ſtrange worke, to put downe one *Ordinary* in a Dioceſſe, and ſet up many *extraordinaries* in every Pariſh: And for ought I know, if ſome pretend *extraordinary excitations*, publikely to reforme againſt the will of the ſupreame Power, ſuch as ſide with the *ſupreame Power*, may with as much probability alleadge *extraordinary excitations* to oppoſe and croſſe the others Reformation, and ſo betwixt them both our Church and State will be ſufficiently miſerable. And now Sir, remember what you ſaid in the laſt Paragraffe: *To the law* (ſaith the Scripture) *and to the Teſtimony*; to ſuch Judges we may ſafely appeale from all your *ſpeciall excitations, extraordinary Incitations and chriſtian Inſpirations.*

B *In the building of the Temple you ſhall ſee in* Ezra *and* Nehemiah *ſuch workings of God, when the people were gathered*

thered together as one man, they ſpake to Ezra *the Scribe, to bring the Booke of the law of Moſes.)* The unanimous conſent of ſo many we acknowledge to be Gods worke. O that we might ſee the like agreement in *England*, where the people are ſo farre from being *gathered together as one man*, that almoſt every one man is diſtracted in his thoughts, like the times, and ſcattered from himſelfe as if he were *many people*. Well, *they ſpake to* Ezra *to bring the Booke of the law*; what of all this?

C *Here the people put on even* Ezra *to his duty.)* And little ſpeaking would ſpurre on him who of himſelfe was ſo ready to runne in his calling: But I pray what was this *Ezra*? who were theſe people? *Ezra* was indeed a Prieſt, a learned Scribe of the law, who brought up a party out of *Babylon* to *Jeruſalem* armed with a large patent and Commiſſion from *Artaxerxes*. The people here were the whole body of the Jewiſh Church and State together with *Zerobabel* the Prince and *Jeſhuah* the high Prieſt, who (by leave from the Perſian King) had the chiefe managing of ſpirituall and temporall matters. And judge how little this doth make for that purpoſe to which you alleadge it, that from hence private perſons may either make the ſupreame power to reforme, or doe it without his conſent. Had you free leave of the whole Scripture to range in, and could the fruit of your paines find out no fitter inſtance for your purpoſes.

This appeares becauſe in the Propher he is ſtiled *Governour of Judah*, Hag 1.14. and that at the ſelf ſame time when *Ezra* came thither, ſee *Luthers* Chronology in 40. millenarco.

EXAMINER.

And whereas you ſay, Reformation is of thoſe duties that are D impaled in for ſome particular perſons. I anſwer, this were a grand deſigne if you could heighten E Reformation into ſuch a holy prodigy, as you would of late the Church into the *Prelacy and* F *Clergy*, and excluded the Layty as a prophane G Crew, and to be taught their diſtance. *Luther* H will tell you, this is one of the Ro-

man engines, to make ſuch an holy buſineſſe; like the mountaine in the law, not to be toucht or approacht to, but by *Moſes* alone. Thus you might take off many good Workemen, and honeſt Labourers in the Vineyard whom Chriſt hath hired and ſent in, and to whom he hath held out his Scepter as *Ahaſuerus* to *Eſter*.

TREATIS.

D *And whereas you ſay Reformation is of thoſe duties that are impaled in for ſome particular perſons.)* It appeares that *publike Reformation* is ſo impaled; for whereas every man is commanded to obſerve the Sabbath, honour his Parents, and every man forbidden to have other Gods, worſhip Images take Gods Name in vaine kill, ſteale, &c. Yet the ſupreame Power alone in Scripture is called on for publike Reformation, and no private perſon, as Saint *Auſtin* hath very well obſerved.

Auſcvendæ Idola, non potest quiſquam inbere privatus Aug. cont. literos Utilium lib. 2. cap 92.

E *I anſwer, this were a grand deſigne, if you could heighten Reformation into ſuch an holy Prodigy.)* I need not heighten it, which is ſo high a worke of it ſelfe, that our longeſt armes cannot reach it, though we ſtand on the tiptoes of our beſt deſires and endeavours, till God ſhall firſt be pleaſed to ſend us a peace. A prodigy it is not (not long ſince you tearmed it an *extraordinary buſineſſe*) yet if it be performed whilſt warre laſteth, *it is a worke of the Lord, and may juſtly ſeeme mervailous in our eyes.*

F *As you would of late the Church into the Prelacy and the Clergy.)* When and where did I doe this? I ever accounted that the *Cetus fidelium, the Congregation of the faithfull* was Gods Church on earth. Yet I often find the Church repreſented in generall Counſels by the Prelacy and Clergy (who are or ſhould be the beſt & wiſeſt in the Church) & their deciſions in matters of Religion interpreted and received as the reſolutions of the Church in generall.

G *And excluded the Laity as a prophane crew, and to be taught*

taught their diſtance.) What honeſt man ever thought the Layty, as Layty, prophane? I conceive our Kingdome would be very happy, if none of the Clergy were worſe then ſome of the Layty. And I am ſure that the godly Clergy are Gods Layty his λαὸς & the godly Layty are Gods Clergy, his κλῆρος. Yet now a dayes, ſome uſurping Lay-men may well be taught their diſtance, who meddle with miniſteria'l functions: Nor will a wel-meaning heart one day excuſe the unſanctified hands of ſuch *Uzzah's*, who preſuming to preach, hold not our Arke from ſhaking, but ſhake our Arke with holding it.

H Luther *will tell you this is one of the Romiſh engines.)* Indeed this was a Popiſh device too much to depreſſe the Layty. But this engine (thanks be to God) is ſince broken aſunder. and it will be in vaine for any to glew the peeces thereof together. And now ſince the Monopoly of the Popiſh Clergy (ingroſſing all matters of Religion to themſelves) is diſſolved; it is fit Proteſtant Miniſters lawfull propriety in their calling, ſhould juſtly be maintained.

I *thus you may take off many honeſt Labourers in the Vineyard.)* Farre be it from me. eſpecially if they be skilfull Labourers ſuch as will prune the Vines, not pluck them up by the roots. But this and what you ſay of thoſe *to whom God hath held out his Scepter*, is nothing to the purpoſe; except you could prove where God in the Scripture, hires or cals private men to make a publike Reformation.

EXAMINER.

And whereas you tell us that the ſupreame Power alone hath the lawfull calling as appeares in the Kings of *Judah*. I anſwer that if ſo the Parliament were now in a dangerous K *præmunire* for you know that is ſuſpended from us, and yet our ſtate goes on in their worke, enabled (as they ſay) by their *fundamental* power and conſtitution: I ſhall not here diſpute the emanations of this power in ordinances, votes

and orders, they have made it appeare in their owne declarations; onely this I read of an ordinance made by the Nobles and Elders of *Israel*, those Lords L and Commons, *That whosoever would not come according to the Counsell which was taken for Reformation, all his substance should be forfeited.* Here is no King of *Judah's* hand, nor a *Cyrus* King of *Persia*, but an ordinance of their owne to their owne people; onely they have King *Cyrus's* writ for their assembling and consulting. Had Christ M and his Apostles waited in their Reformation for the consent of the *Roman Magistrate* the supreame Power, they had not made that holy expedition they did. Had *Luther* and *Zuinglius* N and *Oecolampadius* staid for the *Emperours* Reformation, they had not shed halfe that light in the Germane hemisphere: There was a time when God tooke part of the spirit of *Moses* and put it upon O the Elders.

TREATIS.

K *If so the Parliament were now in a dangerous Praemunire.)* I will not marre a meane Divine of him, to make a meaner Statesman, by medling with matters in the Common-wealth. I that maintaine that every man must stay in his calling, will not step out of mine owne: Let the differences betwixt our Soveraigne and his Subiects which consist in points of State be debated by the Politicians on either side, the questions in law be argued respectively by their *learned Counsell* and the controversies in Religion be disputed by their severall Divines. But alas! such is our misery when all is done, the finall decision is devolved to the Souldiers sword on either side, and God send the best cause the best successe.

L *Onely this, I read of an Ordinance made by the Nobles and Elders of Israel those Lords and Commons.)* By your favour it was a compleat act of state as confirmed by the royall Assent. True, there was no King of *Judah's* hand unto it, because

becauſe at that time *Judah* had no King; and who can expect that the Sunne ſhould ſhine at midnight, when there is none in that Horizon. Reaſonable men will then be contented with the Moon-ſhine, and ſee that here. For *Zerobabel* ſhining with borrowed beames and a reflected light from the Perſian King (in which reſpect he is ſtiled, *Hag.* 1. 1. the *Governour of Judah*) concurred to this Ordinance by his approbation thereof. Beſides this, there was alſo a triple conſent of the Perſian Kings.

Firſt, the grand and generall grant from *Cyrus*, *Ezra* 1. 3. which ſtill ſtood in full force, as confirmed by *Darius*, *Ezra* 6. 12. whereby the Jewes being authorized to re-build the Temple, were alſo by the ſame enabled to ſettle Gods ſervice in the beſt manner, by what wholſome lawes they thought fitting. Secondly, a particular implicite grant, in that the Perſian King knowing thereof, did not forbid it when it was in his power, had it beene his pleaſure; and ſuch a *not oppoſing*, amounts to a conſent. Laſtly, they had a large expreſſe command from King *Artaxerxes* to *Ezra* (*chap.* 7. *ver.* 26.) *And whoſoever will not doe the Law of thy God, and the Law of the King, let judgement be executed ſpeedily upon him, whether it be unto death or unto baniſhment, or to confiſcation of goods, or to impriſonment.* And now Sir, I have the leſſe cauſe to be offended with you for citing mangled and diſmembred peeces in my Sermon, ſeeing the Scripture it ſelfe finds as little favour from your hand; for had you compared on place thereof with another you could not but have ſeen the Perſian Kings conſent to this Reformation. Yea ſo obſervant were the Jewes of the Perſian Kings, that at the firſt iſſuing forth of their prohibition to that purpoſe, they inſtantly deſiſted building the Temple; having their ſou'es ſo well managed, and mouthed with the reines of loyalty, that their Kings *negative voyce* checkt and ſtopt them as they were running full ſpeed in ſo good an imployment: ſo little doth the inſtance alleadged advantage your cauſe. Ezra 4. 24.

M. *Had Chriſt and his Apoſtles wanted in their Reforma-*

tion

tion for the consent of the Roman Magistrate.) I answer. First, Christ and his Apostles; were Christ and his Apostles, I meane extraordinary persons, immediately inspired. Secondly, the Reformation they brought was mainly materiall indeed, being the Gospell, without which there was no salvation. Thirdly, because they had not the Emperours consent to their Reformation, they pacified his displeased sword by preferring their necks unto it, not repining at the dearnesse of the purchase to buy the safety of their soules with the losse of their lives; all the Jury of the Apostles (*John* onely accepted) followed their Master to Martyrdome: and hence we truly deduced the patterne of passive obedience.

N *Had* Luther *and* Zuinglius, *and* Oecolampadius *stayed for the Emperours Reformation.)* *Luther* was a Minister and so had his share in reforming, so farre as to propagate the truth and confute falshoods by his pen, preaching and disputations. What he did more then this was done by the flat command, at lest free consent of *Frederick* Duke of *Saxony* under whom *Luther* lived. This Duke owing homage, but not subjection to the Emperour; counted himself, and was reputed of others, absolute in his owne Dominions, as invested with the power of life and death to coine money, make offensive and defensive leagues and the like. And although this wary Prince long poised himself betwixt feare of the Emperor and love of the truth, yet he always either publikely defended *Luther*, or privately concealed him, till at last having outgrowne his fears, he fell boldly to publike reforming. As for the states of *Zurich* and *Basil*, wherein *Zuinglius* and *Oecolampadius* lived, as those Cities in one Relation are but members of the Helvetian Common-wealth, so in another capacity they are intire bodies of themselves, and in these states the Magistrates did stamp the Character of civill authority on that Reformation which these Ministers did first set on foot by their preaching. But if any extravagant action of worthy men be tendred us in example, our love to their persons binds us not to defend their practice, much lesse to imitate it. We crave li-

berty,

berty, & if denied will take it to leave them to themſelves who if they had any eſpeciall warrant to juſtifie their deeds, will at the laſt day produce and plead it.

O *There was a time when God took part of the ſpirit of* Moſes *& put it upon the Elders.)* I will not diſpute the manner how the ſpirit was taken from *Moſes*, perchance added to others, without being ſubſtracted from him, as a candle looſeth no light by giving it to another. But this is falſly alleaged by you to intimate that ſometimes inferiour Officers may make Reformations without the knowledge, yea, againſt the will of the ſupreame power. For you muſt know that though the Sanhedrin or ſeventy Elders were a conſtant Court and ſtanding Counſell, yet when there was a chief Governour, they had recourſe to him in actions of Moment, *Num.* 27.15,16,17. *And* Moſes *ſpake unto the Lord ſaying let the Lord the God of the ſpirits of all fleſh ſet a man over the Congregation which may go out before them, and which may lead them out and bring them in, that the Congregation of the Lord be not as Sheep which have no Shepheard.* See that notwithſtanding the power of the Elders ſtood ſtill in full force, & determined not at *Moſes* his death, yet he accounted Gods people no better then Shepheardleſſe, till they had a power Paramount placed over them, and a ſupreame above the Elders to guide and direct them.

Druſius in penteteuchen ex R. Aben-Ezrah.

SERMON Paragraffe 15.

"Mean time meer private men muſt not be idle but move in "their ſphere, till the ſupream Power doth reform they muſt "pray to inſpire thoſe that have power. Secondly, they muſt re-"forme themſelves and their Families.

EXAMINER.

Stil you drive on your deſign thorow many plauſible P inſinuations you would keep *private men doing* but ſtill doing in their owne Q *circle*; I confeſſe I would not improve their intereſt too high nor too ſoon for the early ſettings forth of *private men* is apt to exceed into a tumultuary motion: Yet I would not put them ſo far behind as they ſhould like the *lame* & the *diſeaſed* at the *poole of* Bethesda *waiting* till a ſupreame R Power came downe amongſt them. There are many publike ingagements

which they are capable on, & which providence will often guide them to as in finding [S] out-ways of facilitation & advancement for the buſineſſe; beſides ſome other arcana and ſecret [T] preparations; we ſee every thing naturally is ſpirited with an inſtinct of aiding, the whole [V] water and ayre will part with their own intereſt to ſerve the univerſall in the danger of a vacuity; the very [W] Romans by a morrall principle, would contend to be firſt in the ſervice of their Country; and it remains as a crime upon record that [X] *Gilead* abode beyond *Jordan*, and that *Dan remained in ſhips*, and *Aſhur* abode in his breaches; that is that they would ſit downe encircled with their owne intereſt and affaires.

TREATIS.

[P] *Still you drive on your deſigne thorow many plauſible inſinuations.*) Not inſinuations but poſitions, and thoſe no more plauſible then profitable. Truth hath a precious inſide, and withall a pleaſing face.

[Q] *You would keep private men doing, but ſtill doing in their circle.*) And good reaſon too for if they be out of their circle, they are very troubleſome ſpirits to conjure downe againe.

[R] *Not like the lame at the poole of* Bethesda *waiting till a ſupreame Power.*) If God in his Word will have it ſo, they muſt wait. Better to lye ſtill in the porch, though not cured then to ruſh headlong into the poole and be drowned.

[S] *Providence will guide them in finding out-wayes of facilitation.*) I proteſt againſt all out-wayes, if they be any way different from the high-road of the King of Heaven; Reformation however muſt come lawfully, and if it will not come eaſily, let it come hardly, we will tug at it with our prayers (which are alwayes beſt at a dead lift) and will ſweat but not ſin to obtain it. Nor can any better *facilitation* for private men be found out, then for every one of them to reform themſelves. How doth an Army of ten thouſand men almoſt change their poſtures from Eaſt to Weſt in an inſtant, becauſe every one turneth one, and ſo ſoone would the work be done in a publike Reformation, if particular perſons would take care for their private amendment.

[T] *Beſides ſome other arcana and ſecret preparations.*) Good Sir

play

play faire and above board: The ſurface of the earth is wide enough for us both, creep not into crannies, to put me to the paine of Pioners to mine for your meaning: I know *the ſecret of the Lord is with the righteous*; but then it is ſuch a ſecret, as being concealed from prophane perſons is revealed in the Word. This your expreſſion if cleer from fault, is not free from juſt ſuſpition, for hereby you buz into peoples hands (and ſuch tinder I tell you is ready to take fire) that there are ſome ſtrange unknown miſteries of Religion lately communicated to ſome private men. Strange that others of the ſame forme with you for learning and Religion ſhould know no ſuch ſecrets, except you have received from Heaven ſome expreſſe packet of intelligence. You might have done well to have told us what theſe arcana are unleſſe being of Heavens *cloſe Committee* you be bound to ſecrecy. Meane time I will be bold to tell you, that if theſe ſecrets differ from Gods will in his Word, they are depths of the Divell and miſteries of Iniquity. Pro. 3.32.

V *We ſee every thing naturally is ſpirited with an inſtinct of aydng, the whole water and ayre will part with their owne intereſts to ſerve the univerſall in the danger of a vacuity.)* I diſtinguiſh betwixt naturall Agents and voluntary, rationall and Chriſtian Agents. Naturall Agents goe the neereſt way to their owne home, their Center, except countermanded to avoid a vacuity, which being yeelded to, neceſſarily inferres a deſtruction of the whole. In ſuch a caſe heavy bodyes have from God a diſpenſation yea command to aſcend, light bodies to deſcend, forgetting their particular propenſity, to remember the publike good, according to the words of the Pſalmiſt, *He hath made a decree which they ſhall not paſſe*. But voluntary, rationall and Chriſtian Agents are to regulate their actions by Gods will in his Word; the greateſt and onely *vacuity* they are to feare is Gods diſpleaſure whoſe glory they are to preferre before their owne temporall ſelf-preſervation; and indeed mans eternall good is wrapped up in his obedience to Gods will. Wherefore except you can produce a place in Gods Word, wherein private men are commanded to make publike Reformations, there is a meer *vacuity* of all you have alleadged. Pſ. 148.6.

W *The very Romans by a morrall principle would contend to be first in the service of their Country.)* It was well done of them. Their forwardneſſe in ſerving their Country will one day condemne our frowardneſſe in deſerving our rending our native ſoyle aſunder with civill diſſentions; but in ſuch caſes as this is which we have now afoot (whether private perſons may reform without the conſent of the ſupreame Power) we are not to be guided by the practice of the Pagan Romans but by the precept of the Chriſtian Romans, *Let every ſoule be ſubject to the higher Powers.*

Rom. 13. 1

X *And it remaines as a crime upon Record, that* Gilead *abode beyond* Jordan, *and that* Dan *remained in ſhips.)* Thus it was; *Sisera* a Pagan generall under *Jabin* a Tyrant and Uſurper hoſtilely invaded *Iſrael*. *Deborah* a Propheteſſe by Divine inſpiration incited *Barach* to reſiſt him. In this caſe each ſingle man had a double call to aſſiſt *Barach*: One from Nature to defend his Country, another from Gods immediate vocation. Here it was lawfull for all to be active, ſinfull for any to be idle: *Jael* the woman was valiant; ſhall men be womaniſh and cowardly? Now prove that private men have the like calling in point of publike Reformation and if they be not active, we will not only confeſſe it their crime but proclaime a curſe againſt them with *Meros*, till this be done this inſtance betreindeth not your cauſe.

In publicos hoſtes, omnis homines Tertullianus.

EXAMINER.

And Y though you would put private men upon ſuch duties here as are godly & commendible the policy is to keepe them exerciſed in one good duty that they ſhould not advance another & thus you would cunningly make one peece of Divinity to betray another, and make the freinds of Reformation doe it a diſcurteſie in ignorance.

TREATIS.

Y I confeſſe it is an ancient ſubtilty of Satan, *to keep men exerciſed in one good duty that they ſhould not advance another.* Thus he buſieth ſome men all in praying to neglect preaching, all in preaching to neglect Catechizing, all in prayers, preaching, catechizing, to neglect practiſing. *Jeſabels* body was all eaten

2. King. 9. 35.

ten up, ſave onely her *head, hands and feet*. But indiſcreet zeal ſo conſumes ſome, that they have neither *hands* nor *feet* left, either to *worke* or to walke in their Chriſtian calling: Yea of all their *head* nothing remains unto them but onely their *ears*, reſolving all Gods ſervice into *hearing* alone.

But this accuſation is not onely improperly, but falſly here layed to my charge becauſe I forbid meer private men to meddle with publike reforming, which belongs not at all unto them: That ſo cutting off the needleſſe ſuckers the tree may be fed the better, and that private men leaving off thoſe imployments which pertaine not to them, may the more effectually advance their owne amendment; a taske which when it is done, the ſevereſt Divine will give them leave to play.

And becauſe one dangerous Policy hath been mentioned by you, it will not be amiſſe to couple it with another device of the Divell, as ſeaſonable and neceſſary in theſe times to be taken notice of. Satan puts many meere private men on to be fierce and eager upon publike reforming, thereby purpoſely to decline and avert them from their own ſelfe-amendment. For publike reforming hath ſome pleaſure in it, as a Magiſteriall act and work of authority, conſiſting moſt in commanding and ordering of others; whereas private amendment is a worke all of paine, therein a man, as he is himſelfe the judge, ſo he is the malefactor, and muſt indite himſelfe, arraigne himſelfe, convict himſelfe, condemne himſelfe, and in part execute himſelfe, *crucifying the old man* and *mortifying* his owne corruptions. And we can eaſier afford to put out both the eyes of other men, to force them to leave their deare darling ſinnes, then to pluck out our own right eye (in obedience to our Saviours precept) and forſake our owne ſinnes, *which doe ſo eaſily beſet us*. Mat. 5. 29. Beſides men may be prompted to publike reforming by covetouſnes, to gather chips at the felling of the old Church govertment by ambition, to ſee and be ſeene in office, by revenge to wreck their ſpight on the perſonall offences of ſuch, whom formerly they diſtaſted. Self amendment is not ſo ſubject to private ends but goeth againſt the haire, yea, againſt the fleſh & ſelfe, in making men deny themſelves in duty to God.

Yea, at the laſt day of judgement, when God ſhall arraigne men, and ſay, *Thou art a drunkard, Thou art an adulterer, Thou art an oppreſſor*; it will be but a poore plea for them to ſay *Yea Lord, but I have been a publike Reformer of Church and State.* This plea, I ſay, will then not *hold water*, but prove a *broken ciſterne*. Nor will God diſpence with their want of *obedience*, becauſe they have offered him ſtore of *ſacrifice*. Such people therefore are daily to be called upon, to amend themſelves and their Families, which is a race long enough for the beſt breathed private Chriſtians, though they ſtart in their youth, and runne till their old age.

SERMON Paragraffe 26.

"*Laſtly, with carefulneſſe not to give any juſt offence to the* "*Papiſts.*

EXAMINER.

I [Z] wonder you would here expreſſe an indulgence which is not allowable, and the memory of the Parliament will be honourable for that; they knew ſo much divinity, as taught them not to value their offence & to proclaim to them both in *England* and [A] *Ireland* an irreconcilable warre. This carefulneſſe and tenderneſſe you plead for, was the firſt principle which our Church ſo farre, as to take up their Altars and Ceremonies to avoid offence. Saint *Paul* was of another ſpirit who forbore not [B] a Diſciple and Apoſtle. *When I ſaw*, ſaith he, *that they walked not uprightly according to the truth of the Goſpell.* You much miſtake the Divinity of Chriſt, in matter of offence, who never forbore to preach, or publiſh any neceſſary truth: Nay, when his Diſciples were ſcandalized, and ſaid, *this is an hard ſaying, doth this offend you*, ſaith he? What and if, &c. He goeth on [C] and purſues the offence, till they left him and his Doctrine too. And for the Papiſts, they are much of the relation and conſtitution of the Scribes and Phariſees, *not without*, as you ſay *nor within*, & yet ſee if you can find our Saviour or his Apoſtles, letting out themſelves into ſuch reſtrictions, and moderation, and cautions. Thoſe truths which are eſſentially, [D] univerſally, alwayes and at all times holy, ought not to be meaſured by the *umbrage* and ſcandall of the *Adverſary*. Indeed in things

things meerly civill or indifferent, our use or liberty may appeare more but for ſuch truths as our Reformation ſhall bring they will be alwayes an offence to the Adverſary: *We preach Chriſt*, ſaith the Apoſtle, *unto the Jewes a ſtumbling-blocke, and to the Greeks fooliſhneſſe* and yet the Apoſtle preacheth, E and layes theſe *blocks*, & this *rock of offence* in the way too.

TREATIS.

That it is utterly unlawfull to give any juſt offence to the Papiſts or to any men whatſoever.

2. *I wonder you ſhould here expreſſe an indulgence which is not allowable.)* I wonder and am ſorry withall, to ſee a Proteſtant take unjuſt offence at this Doctrine, *that no juſt offence is to be given to the Papiſts*. Know Sir, that beſides thoſe Papiſts in *England* and A *Ireland*, to whom you ſay, the Parliament hath proclaimed an irreconcilable war; there be alſo many of their Religion in *Spaine*, *France*, *Germany*, *Italy*, *Poland*, &c. all *Europe* over, with whom the Parliament hath not as yet, any profeſſed open hoſtility, and to theſe no offence muſt be given. The eye of all Chriſtendome is upon us, the Sea ſurrounds, but doth not conceale us: Preſent Papiſts read the text of our actions, and their poſterity will write comments upon them; we cannot therefore be too wary.

Beſides, grant that this irreconcilable war you ſpeak of, ſhould bind men in a *martiall way* to kill all Papiſts; yet I pray take notice that in ſome caſes we may juſtly kill them, whom in no caſe we may juſtly offend. Though a malefactor be condemned by the Judge to be executed, yet the Sheriffe is a murderer if he torment him to death, contrary to the ſentence of law. Now giving unjuſt ſcandall to the Papiſts, is torturing of them, and tyranny to their ſouls which may eternally deſtroy them; and you are the firſt Divine, and I hope ſhall be the laſt, which ever held this to be lawfull.

Whereas you ſay, *I much miſtake the Divinity of Chriſt in matter of offence.* I ſhould be very thankfull to you, if you be pleaſed to rectifie my erroneous judgement to which end I will crave the Readers leave, the more largely to expreſſe my opinion in this point.

I hold that we ought not to give juſt offence to any man whatſoever: Indeed there is no danger of giving offence to the divell. He who fears to offend Satan, offends God with his fooliſh

liſh fear: Becauſe the divels very nature is all mischief and malice, nothing being good in him ſave his being which he hath of God and he is utterly incapable of ſalvation. But ſeeing in the very worſt of men there is ſome goodneſſe, or at leſt a capability of grace here, and glory hereafter, through repentance and faith in Chriſt, we may not give any man juſt offence, as being againſt the rules of Piety, Charity and Chriſtian Prudence.

1 Cor. 10. 32. Againſt the rule of Piety: Becauſe God hath ſaid, *give no offence to any.* Againſt the rule of Charity; becauſe thereby we are 2 Cor. 6 3. cruell to them which are our Brethren by nature, and may be by grace. Againſt the rule of Chriſtian Prudence becauſe we cannot give any juſt offence, but alſo thereby we doe give them a juſt advantage againſt us. I beleeve Sir, were you to diſpute in an Univerſity againſt Popiſh Opponents you would ſo warily ſtate the queſtion which you defend, as that you would not willingly give any *upper grownd* to your Adverſaries, more then what they could get for themſelves. Wherfore as the wreſtlers in the Olimpian games uſed to annoint themſelves with oyle, not only thereby to ſupple their joynts, but alſo to make their naked bodies the more ſlick and ſlippery, that ſo thoſe who wreſtled with them might catch no hold upon them, ſo ought we, who are like to have conſtant oppoſition with the Papiſts, to give them no more advantage then what they can earn & if we give them more, they will be more ready to jeere us for our folly, then thank us for our bounty unto them.

Yea, in this reſpect it is more dangerous to give juſt offence, and therby juſt advantage (for the one cannot be done without the other) to the Papiſts then to any meer Pagans: For Pagans being rude, dull and ignorant, though an advantage be given them, cannot in point of learning husband and improve it to the utmoſt. But the Papiſts whom we doe know and muſt acknowledge cunning fencers in the School of wit and learning, are ſo well skild, as ever to keep and inforce the advantage we once beſtowed on them. And though we need never feare them and all their art ſo long as we have God and a good cauſe on our ſide, ſo if we betray our cauſe by giving them juſt advantage, it is juſt with God to deliver us over into their hands, to beat us with our owne weapons.

And heare let the Reader be pleased to take notice, as much materiall to our purpose, that there is a grand difference, betwixt the Removing of things, bad in their owne nature, and betwixt the manner of removing them. If any thing be bad in it selfe, it may not be continued, it must be removed. None can dispence with the retaining thereof, though never so many or great Persons take offence at the taking of it away. If Friers bee offended thereat, let them turne their girdles, with all their knots in them behind them, whilst wee neede not care for their causeleſſe anger. They who were so quick sighted that they could see an offence, where it was never given them; Let them looke againe in the same place, and their quick eyes will behold there, the amends which were never tendered them.

But now, as for the manner of removing of things badd in themselves, when there is a liberty and latitude left unto us after what fashion we will doe it, either this way or that way, we must doe it so as to give none any just offence. For where it is at our choice and pleasure to use variety of waies, our discretion must pitch on the best, whereby God may receive the most glory, the action the most luster, wee our selves the greatest comfort, and all others no just cause of offence. And here once againe let mee request the Reader to observe, that in my Sermon, I never mentioned any tendernes, to give the Papists offence, in removing of thinges bad in themselves. but this caution of not giving the Papists just offence, was inserted in the proper place, when we came to shew how discretion is to appeare in the manner of a reformation.

Yea the same thing for substance may be done and just offence either may or may not be given according to the diff rent manner of doing it. For instance, such Pictures which are in the suburbs of superstition, because the gate of that City is alwaies open, may without any giving of just offence be fairely taken away. But to shoot off the head of the statue of Christ, either to spite the Papists, or sport our

ſelves giveth juſt offence. Though the Image be nothing, yet ſuch uſage thereof is ſomething, the bullet ſhott at the picture, wounds pietie: For to do ſerious worke in a jearing way, is inconſiſtent with Chriſtian gravities, and argueth not light of knowledge but lightneſſe, not to ſay lewdneſſe of behaviour.

Another inſtance. Suppoſe that ſome ceremonies ancient for time, uſed by the fathers, (though abuſed by the Papiſts (reduced by the Proteſtants, defended by our Engliſh, not oppoſed by forraigne Devines, be practiſed in our Church. And withall ſuppoſe, that ſuch ceremonies as they are harmeleſſe ſo to be uſeleſſe, and not without the ſuſpition of danger, as the preſent times ſtand. In this caſe it will give no juſt offence to the Papiſts to take them away under the Nation, of things unneceſſary, and unſuting with our preſent condition. But to remove them as things prophane, Idolatrous, or ſuperſtitious, giveth juſt offence and great advantage to our Romiſh adverſaries, by the diſgrace we put on Antiquity. Beſides, hereby we betray our freinds which have don good ſervice for our Religion, namely ſuch Engliſh Devines who with their penns have Learnedly and truly aſſerted the lawfulneſſe of ſuch ceremonies, and this our retreating from them and leaving them ingaged, (as *Ioas* ſerved *Vriah* * at the ſiege of *Rabah* treacherouſly) ſhews much baſeneſſe in us and, in ſuch a caſe, the diſhonouring of good men, is the diſhonoring of God himſelfe."

* 2. Sam. 11. 15.

But if I ſhould in Courteie yeeld ſo much unto you (which I never will) that it were lawfull to give juſt offence to & grounded dedicated Papiſts, yet könw there be ſome, who in their opnions, & affections, the borderers betwixt us & the Papiſts, *almoſt* Proteſtants *not far from* our Religion, having one ſoote in it, and the other likely to follow, ſuch People when they ſee, that we take no care, and make no conſcience, to give juſt offence to the Papiſts, will be ready to retract their reſolutions, and call back their forward affections, ſay not that ſuch men are better loſt then found.

Is,

Is this the bowels of Christian compassion, which ought to be in us, If we wilfully blast such blossomes, we are not worthy of any ripe fruite, and it is both cruelty and profanesse to cast such *doe bake cakes* to the Doggs, which by standing a while longer in the Oven, would make good and wholsome bread. Nor herein do I write only by guesse, but too much by knowledge, such as I can, neither well conceale nor comfortably, relate. For when the Religious paines of some reverend Devines whom I know, have brought some Papists to the doore of our Church, the just offence given them, by the moderne extravagances of some undiscreet Protestants, caused them to sale backe againe to Popery. And now to returne to your Examination. All things contained therein, are easily to be answered by that which we have promised.

B. *Saint Paule was of a nother Sprit, who forbore not a Disciple and Apostle*, Saint *Paule* perceiving a dangerous error, in *Peter*, reproved him, both presently while the wound was greene, and publiquely, that the plaister might be as broad as the sore. But in thus doing he gave no just offence to *Peter* but blamed *Peter* for giving just offence to other Christians. Gall. 2. 11

C. *He goeth on and persueth the offence till they left him*) This instance of Christs his cariage herein nothing advantageth you. Give me leave to repeate what I said before. If things be bad in themselves, they must be removed, though they give never so many offence or rather though never so many or great men, take offence thereat so also if a necessary Truth bee to be introduced, it must be preached and brought into the Church, though never so many be offended thereat. And if there be but one way, and no more allowed us, how and in what manner to do it, according to that one way, it must be don, not valluing the offending of any. But it verity of way be permitted unto us, God expects that we should give the least, and if possible no offence to any. Now to apply the truth which our

Saviour heare preached, and preſſed, was of abſolute and neceſſary concernment. Namely that he was the true *Manna Meſsiah and bread from heaven.* Such truths muſt bee preached, and if any burne with anger thereat, let not their fire be quenched, till it goe out for want of fuell. The caſe is farre otherwiſe in this Reformation, betwixt us and the Papiſts. We had all eſſentiall truths before, and if any ornamentall, or additionall truths be now to be brought in, they muſt be ſo done as to give no juſt offence to the Papiſts.

D. *Thoſe truths, which are eſſentially, univerſally, alwaies, and at all times holy ought not to be meaſured, by the umbrage and ſcandall of the adverſaries.*) If hereby you meane, that neceſſary truths muſt not bee forborne to bee preached, for feare of giving any offence, I clearely concurre with you. Onely I ſay that all ſuch truths are in our Church already, and not now to bee newly brough in, (as you intimate) by the Reformation.

E. *And yet the Apoſtle Preacheth, and layes thoſe blockes and this rock of offence in the way too.*) The Apoſtle preached Chriſt, and intended him to be a *rock of defence* to all, As for thoſe who perverted him to bee a *rock of offence* to themſelves, this ſcandall was not juſtly given to them, but unjuſtly taken by them. If Papiſt take offence at any ſuch truth, it ſhall affect us no more then the cryes of
* 1 King. 18. 29. *Baals* Prophets * affected any of whom it is ſaid, *there was none to anſwer them, nor any that regarged them.* But as for the manner of removing away any errors, or bringing in any Truths, we ought to bee wary and circumſpect, for our own ſakes, as well as theirs, to give them no juſt offence.

To conclude. For mine owne part Sir I pittie the Perſons of all Papiſts, & heartily deſire their convertion, but hate theirs, and all other errors, *with a perfect hatred.* And this my enmity to all Popiſh Tenents, doth the more plainely appeare to be grounded on my Judgement not on my paſſion, Becauſe I would have al men ſo cautious, as not to give them juſt advantage, leaſt our actions fight for them, whilſt our affecti-

affections fight against them. What Frier will not laugh in his Coule at this your opinion, that it is lawfull to give Papists just offence? Well, you never shall have my consent, to combate as our Churches Champion, against Rome for the Protestant cause, untill you have learnt more skill in fencing, and not to lye at so open a guard. And if you hold it lawfull to give Papists just offence, by the next returne you will hold it lawfull to give just offence to all, which are termed *Popishly affected*, the Gangrean of which expression, is by some extended to taint as sound and hearty Protestants, as any be in England.

SERMON *Page.* 24.

"*That it is to be desired, not hoped for, a* Plat'oes Com-
"mon-wealth *and* Moores Vtopia *These Phrases are*
"*pleasing but unsufferable.*

EXAMINER.

Hee that lookes abroad shall soone have his sight terminated, but the more hee goes on the more he sees, and that which closed his prospect opens then into new discoveries; if you see no perfect reformation as you stand, do not therefore say there is none, they that stand higher and on a holyer mountaine, perhapps see farther, you that stand in the *Horizon* G *of Prelacy* cannot see much beyond it; Corruption is deceitfull and makes us like *Adam* see all Generations in our selves, because we will not be pefectly reformed, let us not argue our Iudgments into a beleefe that we cannot; let us think it as possible to be the best, as easie to be the worst, Let us not thinke that *a Plato's Common wealth or a Mor'es Vtopia* which for ought we know is reall and existent, there is *under the Gospell* I *a royall Preisthood, an holy nation, a peculiar People*, and certainly had former K ages lived to see, but the discovery of

latter times, they would have admired their owne ignorance and our happineſſe.

TREATIS.

F. *They that ſtand higher and on a holyer mountaine, perhapp's ſee further)* I deny it not. But if they ſee a perfect Church on earth they ſee it in a trance or viſion.

G. *You that ſtand in the Horizon of Prelacy, cannot ſee much beyondit.*) Miſſe not the matter, to hitt my perſon, if I ſtand in the *Horizon of Prelacy* I ſtand no more for it, then it ſtands, with Gods glory, and will in his word. Becauſe you taxe me with dimneſſe of ſight, I will ſtrive by my ſtudy to get the beſt advantage ground I can, I will begg of God, to animate mine eyes with *his* * *eyeſalve*, I will be carefull to keepe mine eyes from being *bloodſhot*, by animating any to cruelty in this unnaturall Warr And know Sir that they who ſtand in the *Horizon of Preſbutary*, or *Independency*, are ſubject alſo to Errors, and miſtakes. As delight in old Cuſtomes may deceive ſome, ſo deſire of Novelty, may blind the eyes of others. God helpe us all we are badd at the beſt.

* Rev. 3. 18.

H. *Becauſe we will not be perfectly reformed, let us not argue our Judgments into a beleife that we cannot*) A diſtinction or two of perfection and your fallacy will perfectly appeare. Some Saints in the Scripture phraſe are ſtiled perfect, but then it is Comparatively as they ſtand in oppoſition to * wicked men who have no goodneſſe at all in them. Or elſe they are called perfect as ſo denominated from their better part (good reaſon the beſt *Godfather*, ſhould *name the Child, their regenerate halfe*, which deſires and delights in endeavoring towards perfection, or laſtly perfection is taken for integrity, ſincerity, and unrighteneſſe oppoſite to inward hippocriſie, and in ſuch a perfection the Heart may have many defects by the by, but no diſſimulation in the maine ſervice of God. Such a perfection

* *Sanctorum nonnulli perfecti dicuntur reſpectu mundanorum, qui negligunt res divinas nec ingrediuntur unquam viam proſpectionis Amb. Com. in Epiſt: ad Phil. Cap. 3.*

perfection as this, men may have, yea muſt have, in this life, and without ſuch a perfection here, no hope of any happineſſe hereafter.

But as for an exact, legall perfection (ſuch as ſome Papiſts dreame of, and moſt Anabaptiſts doate on) a perfection able to ſtand before Gods Iuſtice without the ſupport of his mercy, it is utterly impoſſible for mortall men to attaine unto it. In which ſence in my Sermon, I ſaid that a *Perfect reformation of a Church in this world is difficult to be preſcribed, and impoſſible to be practiſed.*

Yea let me tell you Sir (cautious comming from goodwill, deſerve to be heard, if not heeded) if you perſiſt in this opinion of *exact perfection*, I conceive your condition dangerous. *Eliſha* told King *Ioram*, *Beware that thou paſſe not * ſuch a place, for thither the Aramites are come downe.* I may friendly tell you, preſſe not one any further in this point, for ſpirituall pride lyeth hard by in waite, and the ambuſh thereof will ſurpriſe you. For my owne part, as I hate my badneſſe, ſo I hugge the confeſſion that I am badd, And Gods children, finde both contentment and comfort in knowing they cannot bee perfect. Hence they learne, (what ſoule ſo bad, which hath not ſometimes *ſome holy-day thoughts*) to loath earth to love Heaven, to runne from themſelves, to fly to their Saviour, to pittie others, to pray heartily for them, to hope comfortably of them, in a word this doctine, abateth pride, increaſeth charity, and confoundeth cenſuring. 2 King. 6. 9.

Yea I ſolemnely profeſſe that I would not herein change my doctrine for yours, to have much to boote. Should I ſay, that I could be perfect, both my head and my heart would give my tongue the lye. And one of the beſt hopes, I have to goe to Heaven, is that I am ſute I deſerve Hell. I remember a ſtrange, but true and memerable ſpeech of Reverend Mr. *Fox* * to this effect, *that his Graces ſometimes did him harme, whilſt his ſinne did him much good.* A wonderfull thing, yet ſometimes ſo it commeth to paſſe, God making

* Cited by Mr. *Capel* in his Booke of Temptation.

making a cordiall for us of our owne wickednesse, thereby teaching us humility.

I. *There is under the Gospel a Royall Priesthood, an holy Nation a peculiar people.*) True, Here these things are sincerely begunne, and hereafter fully perfected, for in this life there is still some basenesse, even in the *royall priesthood*, impiety in the *holy Nation*, commonnesse in the *Peculiar people*. And I pray remember you are to prove, that a whole Church may bee perfectly reformed in this world. For though it were granted that some men might be perfect, yet it followeth not thereupon, that any one Church is existent on Earth, consisting intirely all of perfect members. Hipocrites are of so glutenous a nature, they will stick close in every visible Church. They cannot be devided, who cannot be discerned, except one could borrow Gods *touchstone of hearts*, such shining drosse will ever passe current in this Kingdome of Grace.

K. *Had former ages lived but to see the discovery of latter times*) If by former ages you meane the *time of Popery*, I concurre with you. If you understand the times of the *Primitive Fathers*, I suspend my suffrage till the next paragrave. But if you extend it to the age of Christ, and his Apostles, I flatly dissent. Nor am I sensible of any such late *discoveries* in Religion though many *Recoveries* thanks be to God there have been, in reskuing the faith from Romish superstition.

L. *They would have admired their owne ignorance and our happinesse.*) By our *Happinesse*, I suppose you meane, what lately we had before this Warre began, and what we had not the happinesse to keepe, and wee trust in due time, God will restore to us againe. Otherwise, as for our present woefull condition, I would not wish our friends, or envie our foes such *happinesse*.

SER-

SERMON Paragraffe 32.

"There are ſome now adayes talke of a great light main-
"feſted in this age more then before. Indeede we modernes
"have a mighty advantage of the antients, whatſoever was
"theirs by induſtry may be ours, all contribute themſelves
"to us who live in this latter age.

EXAMINER.

If we had no more light, then what you inſinuate were ſeene from the Fathers, why doe we ſee more, and more cleerely and further? He that ſees far, muſt either have a *good ſight* or a *cleare light*, and ſure in this age wee have both, Thoſe errours which our Fathers ſaw for dimme truthes we ſee for Herſies; ſo ſurely both our eyes, and our light are better; for the light which our Fathers have in their lamps can diſcover, but ſo much to us, as it did to them, and we know our diſcovery is ſuch, as wee are able to ſee the ſhadow which followed them, even that Miſtery, which was working in their dayes, both in Prelacy and ceremony, who will deny but that the cloud of *Antichriſtianiſme*, was thicke in their times, and then the light could not be ſo glorious, as now when thoſe clouds grow thinner, and more attenuated by the preaching of the *Goſpel*.

TREATISE.

To cut off all occaſion and pretence of caviling, wee will ſhew, God willing, in what reſpect the Fathers, for knowledge excelled, and exceeded us, and in what reſpect wee modernes goe beyond them. They had a threefold advantage above us. 1. Of ſight. 2. Of light. 3. and of a nearer object.

8. What advantage the Fathers had of us in Learning, and Religion, and what wee have of them.

Firſt, Of a better ſight. Being men of eminent natural

parts, improved with excellent learning, and to the Easterne fathers, the Greeke tongue, the language of the New Testament was naturall, so that it costeth us much paines and sweat but to come to the place whence they started.

Secondly, Of a brighter light. As their constancie in persecution was great, so no doubt the heate of their zeale was attended with a proportionable light, and heavenly illumination God doing much for them that suffer much for him. Especially in those points wherein they encountred hereticks, they were more then men, and went beyond themselves, as St. *Athanasius* against the *Arians*, St. *Augustine* against the *Pelagians* and *Donatists*, from whom our moderne Brownists differ no more, then the same man differs from himselfe in new cloathes.

3. Of a nearer Object. They living closer to Christs times, could therefore better understand the *sence of the Church* in the doctrine delivered to the Apostles. Here we must know that Apostles, and Apostolick men as they wrote Gods word in their Epistles, and Gospels for the profit of all posterity, so for the instruction of their present age they also * *traditioned it* in their Preaching by word of mouth to the people of those times, not that they delivered any thing *viva voce* contrary or different from what they wrote, or that (as the Papists stile for their traditions) they supplyed and enjoyned any thing as necessary to salvation, which otherwise was wanting in the Scripture, but the selfe same things which they wrote in the New Testament, they also delivered in their Sermons, and in their Preaching delated upon them, wherefore the prime primative age, having (as I may say) two strings to their bow, Scripture, and Preaching, must needes bee allowed to have had the clearest apprehention of the meaning of heavenly misteries, and as the *children* * *of Israell served the Lord all the dayes of Iehosuah and all the dayes of the Elders, who outlived Iehosuah, who had seene all the great workes of the Lord which he did for Israell*, in like manner wee may conclude, that

* ἐγὼ γὰρ παρέλαβον ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου, ὃ καὶ παρέδωκα ὑμῖν. 1 Cor. 11. 23.

* Iudg. 2. 7.

that the greateſt puritie and the cleareſt light of the Church, laſted ſo long as any within ſight, hearing, or memory of Chriſt or his Apoſtles preaching, or miracles, did ſurvive.

Now to hold the ſcales even, we in like manner have a three fold advantage over the Fathers. Firſt a degree of experimentall light more then they had or could have, having ſeene the whole conduct, Managing and Progreſſe of Religion ſince their times, whereby (with a litle helpe of hiſtory) a Devine who is under ſixtie in age, may be above ſixteene hundred in experience.

Secondly, we have the benefit of the Fathers bookes, a mightie advantage if we were as carefull to uſe it to Gods Glory, as we are ready to bragg of it for our owne credit. And here I muſt complaine of many mens lazineſſe. Indeed a learned man* compareth ſuch as live in the latter times in reſpect of the Fathers to *Dwarffes ſtanding on Giants Shoulders*. But then if we will have profitt by the fathers learning, we muſt take paines to mount to the tope of their Shoulders. But if like idle *Dwarfes*, we ſtill do but ſtand on the ground, our heads will not reach to their girdles, it is not enough to through the bookes of the fathers, togeather on an heape, and then making their workes our footeſtoolle to ſtand on the outſide and Covers of them, as if it were no more, but VP and RIDE, boaſting how far we behold beyond them. No, if we expect to gett advantage by their writings, we muſt open their bookes, read, underſtand, compare, digeſt and meditate on them. And I am affraid many that leaſt looke into the Fathers, boaſt moſt that they looke beyond them.

* *Nos nani ſumus ſtantes ſuper humeros Gygantum. Hol. coll.*

Thirdly. Wee have the advantage of a darkneſſe removed by Gods goodneſſe from our eyes, which in ſome matters did dimme the ſight of the Fathers. Namely the miſtery of Iniquity which wrought in their times, & now is taken away in the Proteſtant Church. That Bramble of *Rome*,

(ſoone will it prick, which will be a thorne,) which afterwards Lorded it over the *Vine*, *Olive*, and figtree, begonne very timely to play his parte, And the *Man of ſin*, then but an infant (and every thing is pretty when it is yonge,) was unawares dandled on the knees of many a devout Monke, and rockt in the cell of many an holy hermit, who litle ſuſpected that then voluntary ſequeſtring themſelves to enjoy heavenly thoughts, would by degrees degenerate to be in after ages the cover of Pride, luſt and lazineſſe. Now ſeing this man of ſinne, is *dead already* in the Proteſtant Church, and hath a conſumption attended with the Hecktick Fever in all other places, the taking away of Popiſh ſuperſtition may juſtly be accounted the third advantage which our age hath.

By the way we muſt take heed of a fault whereof many are guilty. For ſome are ready to challenge every thing in the practiſe of the Fathers which doth not pleaſe them preſently to be Popiſh, and pretend they taſt ſuperſtition in whatſoever themſelves diſtaſt. O ſay they, the Fathers lived when the *myſtery of iniquity did worke*, and hence they inſer that it is evidence enough without further tryall to condemne any cerimonies uſed by them, becauſe they were uſed by them. The way indeede to make Short Aſſiſes, but Perjur'd Iudges, whereas it is not enough to ſay, but to ſhew that they are ſuperſtitious, to anotomize, and diſſect the Popery conteined in them, demonſtrating where it croſſeth the word of God, wheras on the contrary all wiſe and charitable men ought to eſteeme the practiſes of the primitive Church not only to be innocent, but uſefull and honourable till they be legally convicted to be otherwiſe.

If any object that the Fathers had another diſadvantage, that beſides the ſpreading of Popery, other Hereſies did alſo ſpring and ſprout apace in that time, to the darkening of the light of the truth, let them know that ſuch oppoſition only gave truth the opportunity to tryumph, and the teeth of Error filled it the brighter Hereſies, *In eodem ſecu-*

lo

lo, quo nate, damnat æquos errores patrum ætas tulit, eos & sustulit, condemnig them in Synods and Councells, And in this point to be an equall Empire betwixt the *ancients* and us, we must consider that we live in the *Later age*, and commonly bad humors which have visited the whole body, do settle at last in the leggs and lowest parts, with us Sects and Schismes do also abound, and some Heresies *first set a broach* in the Primitive times, now *runne a Tilt* with all their dredgs in out dayes.

Thus we see how the Fathers were both before and behind us, for knowledge, and wee therein both above and beneath them in severall respects. See the wisdome and goodnesse of God, how he hath sweetly *tempered* things together. So good that all have some, so wise that none have all. And how easie may this controversy be accommodated, *whether ours or the Fathers light were the greatest*, where if the difference be but cleerly understood, the parties are fully reconciled. And now I conceive having answered you in grosse, I need not apply my selfe to any perticulers of yout examination.

EXAMINER.

The *Gospel* doth worke M and wind its beames into the world according to the propheticall seasons for Revelation, many propheticall truthes were sealed up, and those not unsealed but successively, and as our *Generations* after may have a *Starre* rising to them which we have not, so we may have *Beames* N and *Radiations*, and *shootings* which our *fathers* had not. The *Apostles* O had not all their *truths* and *light* revealed at once, some early, some late, some not till the holy Ghost was bestowed. Revelations are graduall and the vaile is not taken off at once, nor in one age. We honour the Fathers as men in *their Generations* famous, their light was glorious in its degree and quality, but they had not all the degrees attainable, they had

a light for their owne times, and we for ours; and who cannot thinke that we are rising into that Age wherein God *shall powre his Spirit upon all flesh, and wherein the light of the Moone shall be as the light of the Sunne, and the light of the Sunne as the light of Seaven dayes.*

TREATISE.

9. No new light or new essentiall truths are or can be revealed in this age.

You hover in Generalls, and seeme to me desirous that your Reader should understand more then you are willing to expresse, my opinion breifly is this. That no new Revelations, or new infused light in essentiall points of Religion, is bestowed on any now-adayes, but that the same light hath in as plentifull a measure beene given to former ages, especially to the age wherein the Apostles lived, and when *the faith was once delivered to the Saints*, and by them sett downe in the Scripture, and that then so perfectly and compleatly, that it needed not the accessions of any future Revelations.

I confesse that men by searching the Scripture (that oyle will never leave increasing as long as more vessells be still brought) and diligent prayer to God may and do ative daily at a clearer understanding of many places of Gods word which they had not before. These words; *Thou art Peter and on this rock will I build my Church*, and that Place, *this is my body*, are now more truly and plainly understood then they were 200. yeares agoe, when the Popes *supremacy* was as falsly founded on the former as transubstantiation was unjustly inferred from the latter. However these were not Revelations of new truthes, but reparations of ould. For the prime primative Church received and embraced the same, The Saints * in the time of Popery *Sung as it were a new song*, a Song not new but renewed, not new in it selfe but perchance to the hearers, and such are many truthes, which are preached in our age in the Protestant Church.

* Revel. 14 3.

They

They that maintaine the contrary opinion of moderne revelations of new essentiall truths doe a three fold mischeife therein. First they lay an aspertion of ignorance and imperfection of knowledge on the Apostles themselves, and this is no lesse then *Scandalum Magnatum*.

Secondly they much unsettle men in matters of Religion, and produce a constant inconstancy and sceptical hovering in all oppinions and as the *Athenians* erected an Altar to the *unknowne God*, so men must reserve a blancke in their soules therin to write truths *as yet unknown*, when they shall be revealed. Thus men will never know when their creede is ended, and will daily waver in that truth which they have in possession, whilst they waite for a clearer and firmer as yet in reversion.

Thirdly, they fixe on the Scripture an imputation of imperfection and such as talke of new revelations of truth, may well remember the passage in the Old Revelation. * *If any man shall add unto these things; God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this booke.* And it seemes to mee all one in effect whether men peece the Scriptures, with old Traditions, or new Revelations; and thus the Papist and Anabaptist are agreed like men in a circle going so farre from each other with their faces, till their backes meete together. And I professe I should sooner trust a tradition containing in it nothing crosse to the Scripture and comming to mee recommended from the primitive times, and countenanced with the practise of the Church in all ages, then a new upstart Revelation. The best is, wee have no neede to trust either, whilst we have Gods word alone sufficient to relie on.

* Reve. 22. 18

The reſult of all is this, We have now a-dayes no new truths revealed, but old ones either more fairely cleared or more firmely assented to, no new Starres of Revelation arise in any hearts. If any such doe burne and blaze there, they are but commets which will fade at last. In a word this age is not happie with any new truths, but guiltie of many old lyes.

Yea

Yea, it rendereth it ſuſpitious, that ſome men are going about ſomewhat, which they cannot juſtifie by the old knowne lawes of God, becauſe they beginne to broach preparative doctrines, Introductorie of new revelations: Diſtruſting (as it ſeemes) the Scripture, the old Iudge, as not for their turnes, becauſe they provide for an Appeale to another Vmpirer; and if thoſe are juſtly accounted dangerous members in the Church, who would bring in Innovations in Ceremonies, then pretenders of new Revelations in Eſſentiall points of Doctrine are ſo much the greater offenders, by how much Doctrine is more neceſſary, and fundamentall in a Church then ceremonies. But I will anſwer ſome paſſages in your Examination particularlie.

M. *The Goſpel doth worke and winde its beames into the world, according to the prophetic all ſeaſons for Revelations.)* Diſtinguiſh we heare, betwixt matters *of fact*, and matters *of faith*. Matters of fact being foretold in the Scripture, are beſt underſtood when they are accompliſhed: In which reſpect the longer the world laſteth, the clearer men ſee & the plainer they underſtand ſuch predictions. The *Seales* in the Revelations were ſucceſſively opened, the *Trumpets* ſucceſſively blowne, the *Vialls* ſucceſſively powred out, and the things imported in and by them, are ſucceſſively performed. Wherefore time is the beſt comentator on the propheticall parts of the Bible. *Dies diem docet*. And to day, which is yeſterdaies ſchoolemaſter will be Scholler to to morrow, in which reſpect the * Prophets words are moſt true, *Many ſhall runne too and fro, and knowledge ſhall be increaſed.* But now, as for matters of Faith, they were at once, and for ever, fully, and freely, delivered at the firſt to the Apoſtles, and ſo from them to us, and that ſo perfectly, & compleatly, they neede no new revelations, *quo ad Materiam*, though *quoad modum*, old truths may now have a new meaſure to be more clearely underſtood then in the darke times of Popery.

* Dan. 12. 4.

N. *We may have Beames, and Radiations, and Shootings,*

ings, which our Fathers had not.) For *Beames* and *Radication* of knowledge, I have delivered my oppinion: but as for *Shootings*, God knowes wee have many such as our Fathers never had; God in his mercy cease such *Shootings*, or else in his Iustice direct the Bulletts to such markes, as in truth have been *the troublers of our Israel.*

O. *The Apostles had not all their truths and light, revealed at once, some early, some late, some not till the Holy Ghost was bestowed.*) All this is most true which you say, The Apostles at first were (as we may say) Freshmen, newly admitted into Christs Company. Then they tooke their first degree of knowledge, when sent forth to Preach the Gospel, *Mat.* 10. to the *Iewes* alone in their Masters life time. They commenced in a higher knowledge after Christ his Resurrection; And after his Assention, assended yet higher in Spirituall Illuminations: Lastly, after the comming of the Holy Ghost, they proceeded Doctors in deede; I meane, they then had the completion and consumation of all understanding necessary to salvation. Now Sir, Consider that after this time, they wrote the New Testament, and therein all essentialls for us to know and doe for our soules health, so that we now doe deduce and derive our knowledge, not from the Apostles in their infancy, or minority of Judgement, but from them having attained to the Top, and Verticall point of their perfectest skill in heavenly misteries.

P. *And who cannot thinke wee are rising into that age, wherein God will power his Spirit upon all flesh, &c.*) What proportion doth this beare with what you said not long since, Prophesying that our *Marian Times* did approach too fast? When nothing was light but the Bonefiers to burne the Martyrs. I will not deny, but this *great sun* may arrise, but the reigning vices of the time are but an ill *Morning Starre* to harbinger the rising thereof. We have taken the *St. Shippe* from those in heaven, but have no more holinesse in our selves here on earth. What betwixt the sins which brought this Warre, and the sinnes this warre hath

brought, they are ſad preſages of better times. Never was Gods name more taken in vaine by oathes and imprecations. *The Lords day*, formerly profained with *mirth*, is now profained with *malice*, and now as much broken with Drummes as formerly with a Taber and Pipe. Superiours never ſo much ſlighted, ſo that what * *Naball* ſaid ſullenly, and (as he applyed it) falſly, we may ſay ſadly & truly, *there be many ſervants now adayes, that breake away, every man from his Maſter.* Killing is now the only Trade in faſhion, & Adultery never more common, ſo that our Nation (in my opinion) is not likely to confound the ſpirituall Whore of *Babilon*, whilſt corporall whoredom is in her every where committed, no where puniſhed. Theft ſo uſuall, that they have ſtollen away the word of *Stealing*, and hid it under the Name of *Plundering*. Lying both in word & Print grown Epidemicall, ſo that it is queſtionable whether *Gunnes* or *Printing*, (two inventions of the ſame Countrey and ſtanding) at the preſent doe more miſcheiſe in this Kingdome. It is paſt *coveting of our Neighbours houſes*, when it is come to violent keeping them. He therefore that doth ſeriouſly conſider, the Grievouſneſſe and Generality of theſe ſinnes, will rather conclude that ſome *Darkeneſſe of Deſolation*, then any Great light is likely to follow upon them. God I confeſſe in mercy may doe much, both to pardon and proſper us, and can extract Light out of Darkeneſſe, but whether he will or no, I (though confident of his power,) ſee little cauſe to hope of his pleaſure herein. And though herein I muſt confeſſe, many of theſe inormities. may, (though not wholy be excuſed, yet) be ſomething extenuated, by pleading the unavoidable neceſſities which warre doth cauſe, yet ſurely wee ſhall anſwer to God for cauſing this warre, by our crying ſinnes, and tranſgreſſions.

* 1 Sam. 25. 10

Q *Wherein the light of the Moone ſhall be as the light of the Sunne, and the light of the Sun as the light of the ſeven dayes.*) This, for ought I can finde to the contrary, was accompliſhed at Chriſt Comming, and the generall giving of the

the Goſpel to the Gentiles, with the ſending of Gods Spirit miraculouſly upon them, ſure I am a Paralell place of the Prophet was then fulfilled, by the expoſition of Saint * *Peter* himſelfe, *And it ſhall come to paſſe in the laſt dayes (ſaith God) I will power out my ſpirit upon all fleſh: and your Sonnes and your Daughters ſhall propheſie, and your young-men ſhall ſee viſions, and your old men ſhall dreame dreames.* * Ioel 2. 28. Acts 2. 17.
Theſe words having the advantage of that *Date* **In the laſt dates**, might with the more colour have beene alleadged by you, and applyed to theſe times, to prove ſome ſpeciall Revelations in our dayes, had not the Apoſtle marred your Mart, and prevented you by applying the propheſie to the primative times.

EXAMINER.

But we ſee the Policy.R of commending the *Fathers light* to our Generation, for could you prevaile with us to ſet our Dialls by that, you then might reforme our *Church* by the *Canterburian Gnomen*, and ſo ſet us backe to a *falſly-reputed, Primitive Reformation.*

TREATISE.

R. *But wee ſee the policie of commending the Fathers.*) I proteſt before Almighty God I have neither baſe nor by reſpect in praiſing the Fathers. Saint *Paule* blamed * *Peter* at *Antioach, becauſe he was to be blamed.* I in the like manner commend the Light of Fathers, *becauſe it is to bee commended* not for any favour or flattery. *A falſely-reputed primitive Reformation*, I abhorre from my heart, & I preſume our Church is to wiſe to be coſened therewith. If *Canterbury* hath misbehaved himſelfe his friends for him deſire no more, and foes to him ſhould grant no leſſe, then a legall triall. But inſult not on any mans ſufferings, Organs I dare ſay, are not ſo offenſive in Churches as the making of Muſick * Gal. 2. 11.

ſicke on-men in miſery. Time was when you ſett as much by a ſmile from *Canterbury*, as he ſtill ſetts litle by a Scoffe from you.

SERMON Paragraffe 13. 14. 15. 16.

"The qualification for Reformers, the Decent burialls of "ſuch Ceremonies, as are taken from the Fathers, the ho-"norable Reſervation to our firſt Reformers.

EXAMINER.

That it may appeare I looke not only at the worſt of the Sermon, There are Excellent Truths in it, and it is pitty they are not better ſcituated, I could alwaies wiſh to ſee a *Diamond* ſet in *Gold*.

Theſe are good Poſitions, and in their pages not without their enamill of witt, yet there is a policy to write faire in one Leafe, though you make a blot in another, but I cannot let theſe paſſe without ſome obſervation.

TREATISE.

S. *And it is Pitty they are not better ſcituated, I could alwaies wiſh, to ſee a Diamond ſet in Gold.*) I cannot blame you, eſpecially if the Diamond be their owne. But what meane you by this Expreſſion; Would you have had the Truths in my Sermon to have beene ſet in the Gold of rich & glittering language. Truly I could not go to the coſt thereof eſpecially on ſo ſhort warning, wherein the Sermon was made. However a Diamond, is a Diamond though ſet in Horne, whereby the luſter thereof may be ſomewhat dimmed, but the worth thereof no whit deminiſhed. But in one reſpect I muſt confeſſe theſe Truthes were *ill ſcituated*, that they ſtood too neere to a captious Reader, who tooke cauſeleſſe exception at them.

T. *Yet*

T. *Yet there is a policie to write faire in one leafe, though you make a blot in a nother,* Shew me Sir, where theſe blotts bee. For as yet I am more troubled to know my fault, then my defence.

EXAMINER.

Firſt for qualification, V I dare ſay, nevet age affor-del more eminent in this Kimgdome, tl eir calling lawfull, their Pietie exemplary, their knowledge radiant, their cou-rage experienced through a legion of difficulties, Their prudence in the conduct of a buſineſſe, though oppoſed with the Policy, and malignity of a grand and Potent E-nemy.

TREATISE.

V. *For their qualification I dare ſay.)* If you dare ſay it, I dare not to gainſay it. Their calling no doubt is lawfull, if the ſupreame powers concurres with them. Of their pie-tie, which conſiſts in their hearts, God alone is Iudge. I will not diſpute againſt their *radiant Knowledge*, nor fight with their *experienced Courage*, and it were folly in me to oppoſe their *Prudence*. Let not the perfections of King *Davids* * Subjects be *numbered*. God make their *Know-ledge*, their *Courage*, their *Prudence*, an hundred fold more then it is, and may the Eyes of my Lord the King ſee the ſame, to his comfort and Honour. * 2 Sam. 3?

EXAMINER.

And for the decent buriall of Ceremonies, and ſuper ſtitions W *of the Fathers)* They ſhall have a *Parliament* of Senators, and an Aſſembly of Devines to lay them in their grave, And I dare ſay a Godly Congregation in the King-dome to ſing a Pſalme at their Funerall; and will not this

be

be a very decent X buriall? *And for the Honorable reſervation, to the reformers, and their memories, our Devines and reformers,* now have ever made reſorte and appeale to the Truths they delivered; and in thoſe times when *Beza*, and *Calvin, and Peter Mertir* were ſet loweſt, till the *Maſter of the feaſt* came lately, and bid them *ſit up higher*, a *Caiſtan and Bellarmine*, and a *Councell of Trent*, I am ſure had more honor from the Devinity of the other yeare, or your times, ſo farre we admire the *reformers* as to *love* their *Truths* and to *pittie* their *Errors*. But I will not ſay much, Errors may be more provoked then remedied with over-handling; let us be wiſe in the Colours of good and evill, though it be an honeſt, yet it is a dangerous miſtake to many our freinds, and to few our Enemies.

TREATISE.

W. *As for the decent buriall of Ceremonies and ſuperſtitions of the Father.*) You are cunning to improve your ſelfe on my words. In my Sermon I made a double ſuppoſition, Firſt, *if there be found in the Fathers practice any Ceremoes ſmacking of Paganiſme or Popery.* Secondly. *If the ſame can be juſtly Challenged to be continued in our Church* now, (as if two Suppoſitions made a Poſitio) you flatly infer & peremtorily conclude ſuch **Superſtitions** are in our Church. I ſhould be loth to ſell wares to ſuch a Chapman, and to truſt his honeſty in meaſuring of them out, who hath ſuch a ſlight in ſlipping his fingers, that gives him *an inch* and hee will take *an ell*. You might have don better, to have tould us what the perticulers of theſe ſuperſtitions are.

* Paragraffe 24.

X. *And will not this be a decent buriall.*) The pleaſantneſſe of your witt doth pleaſe me, ſome mirth in this ſadd times doth well. But you might have been pleaſed to have taken notice, that by *the decent buriall of ſuperſtitious Ceremonies*, (if any ſuch can be proved to be in our Church)

I

I ment the removing of them in that manner, as might give no juſt offence to any, as I have largely diſcourſed of before. However as you ſay, let but a **Parliament** lay them in the ground and I ſhall not moorne for their death but rejoyce at their ſolemne and legall Interment.

Y. *Had more honour from the Devinitie of the other yeare, or your times.*) The more ſhame for ſuch, if any who under valued ſuch Worthy Men. And bleſſed be God that they have recovered their former eſteem. For my part they have not with me regained any new degree of Honor, but ſtill keepe the ſelfeſame place in my valuation of them whereof they ever were peaceably poſſeſſed.

EXAMINER.

If I be now examined what *reformation* I aime at, I anſwere, my endeavour here, was only to take out of the way ſuch rubbiſh as others would bring in; If we can but cleare the paſſage, we go farre in the worke, and in the meane time let us like *Ioſhuas* ſpies, bring no evill report upon the land we are going to.

TREATISE.

Z. (*My endeavour here was only to take out of the way ſuch rubbiſh as others would bring in.*) Whether rather, you have not brought in ſuch Rubbiſh, which others have taken away, be it reported to the judicious Reader.

A. *Let us like Ioſhuas ſpies, bring no evill report upon the Land we are going to.*) By *Ioſhuas* ſpies, you meane thoſe who accompanied *Caleb*, & *Ioſhua* to ſpie the Land of *Canaan*, and theſe were guilty of a three fold Fault.

Firſt they ſpake truth with an ill intent, to diſharten the *Iſraelites*, in their reporting of the ſtrength of the Country. Secondly, they ſpeake more then truth, raiſing the walls of the Cannanitiſh Cities by their Hyperbolyes

*1 Dut. 28. bolyes as high as *Heaven*,* Laſtly they ſuppreſſed the moſt materiall point, not incouraging the people, (as *Caleb and Ioſhua aid*, by the aſſured aſſiſtance of God againſt their enemies. But I conceive my ſelfe, (againſt whome your words are darted) to be innocent in the foreſaid particulers.

EXAMINER.

But ſuppoſe this perfect *reformation*, B or Church, were among the C χυφια the τῆς πολιτειῶν συμπλοκης the Ragione di ſacro Dominio. He were no wiſe D, nor faithfull *Devine* who would not preſerve that ſecret E for holy advantages, t'is *Gods* owne deſigne and his *Apoſtles* to hould out a perfection to us, *be perfect as your Heavenly Father*, *And ſome paſtors for the perfection of the Saints*, I commend *Bodin* and *Tacitus* for their *Politicall faithfulneſſe*, they writt farre yet would not ſunne the imperiall, χυφια nor make them Popular.

TREATISE.

B. *But ſuppoſe this perfect Reformation were e. c.*) It ſeemes you ſuſpect the ſtrength of your outworkes, that you ſo ſeaſonably retire to your Caſtle, Now at laſt condemning this doctrine, not as falſe, but unfitting to be preached.

C. *Were among the* χυφια I thinke you would ſay χωφια or otherwiſe Sir my learning will not extend to underſtand this your new greeke.

D. *He were no wiſe and faithfull Devine*) So then you conclude me a fooliſh & deceitful Miniſter, & I had rather you ſhould call me ſo ten times, then my guiltie conſcience ſhould tell me ſo once, for concealing of a neceſſary truth.

E. *Who would not preſerve that ſecret for holy advantages.*) Fatſt the queſtion is, wheither or no it lay in my power

power if I would to keepe this Point ſecret. What your people at *Heſlertonn* in *Yorkeſhire* are, you beſt know in this Doctrine, I was not the teacher but the remembrancer of my people at the *Savoy*, from whom had I cloſely covered it with both my hands, they would have ſeene it through all my fingers. Beſides what hope can one have to keepe it ſecret when (as you ſay) ſo *great and glorious a light* is ſhining now-a-dayes.

But if I could, I ought not to ſuppreſſe it. Let Popiſh tenents be ſhutt in a cloiſter, and ſicke opinions keepe their Chamber, God never lighted this Truth for us to put it under a buſhell, it being alwaies ſeaſonable to bee divulged, and now dangerous to bee concealed.

10. That the Doctrine of the Churches imperfection may ſafely bee preached and cannot honeſtly bee concealed.

Theſe *holy advantages*, (I would not count them advantages were they not holy,) ariſe from Preaching this point. Firſt, it awakens men from their Idle dreames of their conceited perfection of a Church here, and too many I feare have made this common-wealth here woefully *militant*, under pretence here to make the Church happily triumphant.

Secondly, to teach all Chriſtians (Majeſtrates and Miniſters moſt eſpecially) as induſtry ſo patience, daily to doe, and conſtantly to ſuffer no whitt diſheartned in their endeavours to perfection. Knowing though things bee badd, after their beſt labours to amend them, that this proceedes from the inevitable *vanity, to which the creature is ſubjoct.*

Thirdly, to weane men from this world, making them to love and long *for the time of the reſtitution of all things*, when this world as a watch out of tune ſhall not onely bee taken aſſunder and ſcoured, but alſo have all the wheeles made new and then bee perfectly reformed.

Yea Sir, let us try whether you or I proceeding on our contrary principles, ſhall more effectually perſwade a reformation, you will tell the world that a perfect reformation in this life is attaineable, even to the anticipating of Heaven heare, and this you will preſſe with all your power and flowers of Retorick, and all little enough to performe ſo unſavory an untruth. Now ſee ſir what miſcheifes will follow hereupon.

1. Becauſe one falſehood requires more to ſupport it, you muſt call in other auxilliary falſities to defend this, and ſo engage your ſelfe in a multitude of errors.

2. Seeing ſlights and ſhifts can never laſt long, your forgery will be detected.

3. You are lyable to *Heavens Pillorie* to bee punniſhed for holy fraud.

4. You will ſcarce be truſted afterwards though telling truth being once convicted and ever ſuſpected of falſhood.

As for thoſe whom you have deceived unto the utmoſt of their endevours of Reformation, on your falſe perſwaſion that the perfection thereof may bee had in this world, though their labours therein bee very forward at the firſt, yet ſoone will they wither and weaken with the graine in the Goſpel that wanted Roote (no Roote and a falſe Roote are the ſame in effect,) and Gods bleſſing cannot be expected on the deceitfull proceedings.

As for mee who have no cunning in ſuch hunting, but pleaſe my ſelfe with *Iacob* to bee a plaine man, I would goe another way to worke, and tell them the worſt firſt, that Indeede it is vaine to expect a perfect reformation in this world. However let them comfort themſelves, that wee ſerve ſuch a Maſter *who accepts of the will for the deede, and knowes whereof we are made. Hee remembreth that wee are but duſt.* And therefore let us doe our beſt, and ſtrugle againſt our infirmities,

infirmities, being confident that God in Christ will pardon what is amisse, and reward what is good in us. And I doubt not but such doctrine by Gods blessing will both take deeper impression in mens hearts, and bring forth better fruits of amendment in their lives.

F. *I commend* Bodin *and* Tacitus *for their politicall faithfulnesse, they writt far, yet would not Sun the imperiall χρυσα nor make them popular.*) I confesse it to bee unfitting, yea dangerous to impart *misteries of State* to private people, for such Iewels are to bee lockt in a safe and sure Cabinet, the bosoms of Politicians, Not so in necessary Points of Divinity, for though every private man hath not a *State to governe*, hee hath *a soule to save*, and therefore must be partner in all wholsome doctrines.

Indeede in some cases, Preachers may though not finally suppresse, yet seasonably conceale, or rather warily deferre the publishing of some points of Religion, First when they are not of absolute concernement to salvation, & the Minister by his Christian discretion plainely foresees, that all the good which rationally can bee expected to redound from Preaching such a Truth, will not countervaile the ill, which in probability will inevitably follow thereupon; Or else when the Auditors are not capeable as yet of such difficult Doctrines. Christ himselfe did fitt his *Wines* to his bottles, powring in not what hee could give, but they could take, least otherwise hee should rather spill his liquor, then fill his vessells.

Neither of these cases now alledged take place concerning the publishing of the Doctrine of the *Impossibility of the Churches perfection in this world.* For we may by Gods blessing justly expect and promise to

our selves and others much good and comfort from the preaching thereof, as we have largely proved before. Nor dare I so much to disparage the times we live in, (now it being above a hundred yeares since *Luthers* reformation) as to count them to have age so much, and Knowledge so litle, as not yet to be capable with safety & profit of so plaine & true a Doctrine, some shortly expect *the day of Iudgment*, and sure then the world is already *come to Age* to understand Truths, except shee come not out of her *Mynority* till just shee be ready to die and to be dissolved.

G. *Would not Sunne the Imperiall* χρυσα.) Godly secrets in Religion in some respects may be *Sunn'd*. First that thereby they may be tryed, (all Truths have Eagles eyes) whether or no they can behold, and beare the Sunne Beames. Secondly, because our * Saviour hath said, *what I tell you in darkneſſe, that ſpeake in the light, and what you heare in the Eare that preach you upon the Houſe toppe.* Lastly, that by proclaiming them the Godly may have an oppertunity to receive them, and the wicked be rendred unexcusable for refusing them, when such Truths are made generally knowne.

* Matth. 10. 26

H. *Nor make them popular.*) I distinguish on the word *Popular*. If it be taken, as generally it is, (use having confined a word, of generall acception in it selfe, to an ill sence) to Court the good will of people for any private or finester end, it is utterly unlawfull for *Popularity*, which is necessary love, in a Prince, is unlawfull lust, in a Subject, who may not Court the Kings wife, for to him alone, are the People married in a Politicke Relation. All honest men therefore disclaime, to make *Truths Popular* in this sence, to impart them to the vulgar to gaine any vaine applause. Yea, consider herein, whether you rather

ther be not faultie in making the Imperiall χρωμα to bee *Popular*, who incite and incourage ordinary *People*, to make a *Publique Reformation*

But Truths in Divinity must be made Popular, that is bee communicated to all people, in true sincerikie for the saving of their Soules.

The * Apostle, calleth it the *Common salvation*, and therefore it must be preached to all in common, our Sermons must, aswell be *ad Populum* as *ad clerum*. * Iude, 3.

Otherwise such Monopolies are illegall and distructive to the State of the Church, for any Ministers to engrosse any wholsome Doctrine to themselves, and not impartie it to their Parish, except in the cases afore mentioned.

EXAMINER. Apology.

I have now done (I will not say) *refuting*, but committing Errors, I am a fraid my hast at this time, hath made me mend one fault, only with another,

TREATISE.

I will not oppose yours, but annex my owne conclusion. If I should deny my owne many Imperfections, my practise would confute what my Pen hath maintained. Reader, for the matter of what I have written, I require thee, in Gods name do me Iustice, for the manner, method, or words thereof, I request thee, as I am a Man shew mee favour. Thinke not the worse of the Truths, for my sake, but thinke the better of me, for the Truths sake which I have defended. And

conceive

conceive me not to be of a brawling and controverſiall diſpoſition, who do deſire and will pray for an Agreement from my Soule, ſo long as my ſpeech ſhall ſerve me. Yea if I ſhould chance to be ſtricken dumbe, I would with *Zacharia make ſignes for table bookes* and write *the name of that which* I deſire above all earthly thing is PEACE.

God ſend it, *Amen.*

FINIS.

10

THE INIQVITY OF *The Late Solemne League,* OR COVENANT *DISCOVERED:*

By way of a Letter to a Gentleman desiring information upon *the Poynt.*

Whereunto is Subjoyned the Covenant it selfe.

Printed, *March* 9. 1643.

THE

DIALOGUIST:

OR,

CONVERSATION DISCOVERED:

By way of a Letter to a Gentleman
desiring information upon
the Point.

The Iniquity of the late Solemne League or Covenant, discovered by way of Letter to a Gentleman desiring information *upon the poynt.*

SIR,

IN answer to your desire of being informed concerning the late Covenant, I have endeavoured, as briefly and plainly, as I can, to let you understand what I conceive of it, and do advise upon it. I cannot but conceive that this *Covenant*, or *Conspiracy* rather, is a Combination wickedly contrived, and upon the Consciences of others as wickedly imposed by those, who, under pretence of reforming Religion and Government, would by force of Armes bring all into their Power.

It is a wonder to consider, that men, who have alwaies cryed out for Liberty of Conscience, not suffering themselves to be limited in a Ceremony or thing indifferent, but in defence of that Liberty, endeavouring to bring all into confusion, should thus Imperiously Tyrannize over other mens Consciences, forcing upon them Oath after Oath, Covenant after Covenant, till they have hardened them into a senselessnesse of what is just and right.

Now for your selfe, who would continue Resolute a-

gainſt it, and for thoſe Gentlemen, you ſpeak of, who have taken it, or are ſo reſolved, in hope of procuring their Liberty thereby, if my reſolution and advice may in time be heard, it ſtands thus upon theſe two points.

I. *That no man can with a ſafe Conſcience enter this Covenant, by reaſon of the groſſe and palpable iniquity of the Contents thereof.*

II. *That he who through his owne ignorance, and the cunning of others, has been ſeduced, or by their threats and Menaces forced, or by any other means brought on to enter this Covenant with them, is not bound to the performance of the Contents, but having by the taking of it, contracted their guilt of a grievous ſinne, is bound to a ſpeedy Repentance for the ſame.*

Firſt, That the ſinne and unlawfullneſſe of taking it may appeare, you muſt conſider, that he which enters Covenant after this manner, doth before Almighty God profeſſe, that in Conſcience he allowes and approves the deſignes and intentions of them, he enters Covenant with, and doth alſo bind himſelfe to doe and purſue that, for which the Covenant is made. And accordingly you may obſerve, that in the cloſe of the Covenant, it is ſaid, *And this Covenant we make in the preſence of Almighty God, the ſearcher of all hearts, with a true intention to performe the ſame.* Now it is a known and received Rule, that an Oath or Covenant, (whether lawfully or unlawfully impoſed, it matters not, ſo a man yeelds himſelf to take it) is taken not according to the reſerved meaning of him that takes it, but according to the known and notorious meaning and intention of them that impoſe or require it. What ſuch an one doth profeſſe and bind himſelfe unto, will appeare in theſe particulars.

I. He

1. He that enters this Covenant, doth by the first and second Articles thereof, before almighty God professe, that he doth in Conscience allow and approve the change, (*i.e.*) not the Reformation onely but abolishing) of this Church-government, and of the extirpation of Episcopacy: and doth bind himselfe by the same Articles, really and constantly to endeavour the same.

Now see the iniquity of this. First, here is sedition: Subjects entred into a Covenant for a change of established Government, without and against their Soveraigns command and Authority. The example they pretend for this out of, *Ezra*, 10. 3. makes against them; for there was no change of Law or Government attempted, and *Ezra* had good Authority for what he did, being sent from the King with full commission to carry backe the People to *Ierusalem*, and there to restore the Temple and Worship according to the Law of his God, *Ezra* 7. 13, 14. Secondly, here is injustice to fellow Subjects: Subjects entring a Covenant, and binding themselves to doe notorious injury and wrong to others, that is, to extirpate a company of Men, whose Function (I speak of Bishops) is of Apostolicall institution, and has continued in this Land, from the first receiving of the Christian Faith: whose immunities also, and priviledges are undeniably most ancient and Legall in this Kingdome. Thirdly, here is a Sacriledge, in spoyling Them, or a Church rather, of those Possessions and Interests, which beside the right of Dedication, doe by as good Law and Title belong to them, as any Libertie or Possession doth to other Subjects. Lastly, here is Rebellion with the greatest impiety: Subjects endeavouring this by force of Armes (as it will appeare by the fixth Article, they that Covenant, bind themselves to doe) that is, to

compell your Soveraign to ſuch an Extirpation and ſpoyling, againſt which he is bound by the Law of God, and by expreſſe Oath, and cannot be releaſed of that Oath, without their conſent to whom he makes it, *viz.* thoſe that muſt here be extirpated and ſpoiled.

II. He that enters this Covenant, doth by the fourth Article profeſſe, that he allowes, All thoſe which adhere to His Majeſty in this Cauſe, ſhould be eſteemed and proceeded againſt, as *Malignants*, *Incendiaries*, and as in the firſt Article they ſet them out, *Common Enemies*, for it is notorious and well knowne, whom the Impoſers of this Covenant doe meane by thoſe names. Alſo by the ſame fourth Article, he binds himſelf to diſcover all ſuch, that they may be brought to puniſhment.

The Iniquity of this appears, by what was ſaid upon the former Articles; but more eſpecially by the duties unto which the Oathes of Supremacy and Allegiance bind all Subjects, *viz.* the *aſſiſting* of His Majeſty againſt all attempts, and the *diſcovering* unto him all conſpiracies, duties contrarie to what is undertaken here.

III. Leaſt this Covenant ſhould ſeeme contrary to thoſe Oathes, there is in the third Article a clauſe, *for preſerving and defending the Kings Majeſties Perſon and Authority, without any thought or intention of diminiſhing His iuſt Power and Greatneſſe*, which though he that enters this Covenant may thinke to be juſt and faire, yet is it indeed a fearfull Colluſion, and mocking of God, there being nothing more againſt His Majeſties Authority and Power, then the intent and purſuit of this Covenant.

IIII. He that enters this Covenant, doth bind himſelfe by the fifth Article to endeavour the continuance of Peace between the two Kingdomes, which, according to the intent

tent of this Covenant, he muſt doe, by joyning with thoſe who have now actually broken the Pacification, and in purſuit of this Covenant invaded this Kingdome: which is alſo a fearfull Colluſion, and mocking of God.

V. He that enters this Covenant, doth profeſſe by the ſixt Article, that he allowes and approves the *aſſiſting* and *defending* of all thoſe, that take this Covenant, in the *maintaining* and *purſuing* thereof, againſt all oppoſition, and lets or impediments whatſoever; and by the ſame Article binds himſelfe really and conſtantly to endeavour the ſame to his power, without giving himſelfe to a deteſtable *Neutrality* in this Cauſe, or making a *defection* to the contrary part.

Now ſee the Iniquity of this Article, which ſo plainly ſpeakes the language of deſperate Rebellion: it is notoriouſly known by the Armes which they and the *Scots* have raiſed and uſed in purſuit of this and former Covenants or Conſpiracies, what is meant by *aſſiſting* and *defending* their Covenantees, by *maintaining* and *purſuing* their Covenant againſt all oppoſition whatſoever, ſo that he which Covenants with them, doth by this Article bind himſelfe to endeavour by force of Armes to compell his Soveraign, to the Reformation pretended by this Covenant, and doth, as much as in him lyes, cut himſelfe off from returning to his duty and obedience, which is here called *a defection to the contrary part*. And I marvaile, thoſe Gentlemen, who by entring this Covenant hope for liberty, doe not ſee in what a Toyle they are caught worſe then the Priſon, for ſhould they have liberty thereupon, what doe they intend to doe? to live quietly at home? No, they expreſly bind themſelves againſt Neutrality, as a deteſtable thing; or to aſſiſt the King? that indeed they ſtand bound to doe,

but

but by this Covenant desperately undertake against it, under the name *of defection to the contrary part.*

VI. Lastly to fill up the measure and to mock God Almighty to his face, he that enters Covenant with these *holy Leaguers*, doth professe that he approves and binds himselfe to all their premises, as to that which *much concernes the glory of God, the good of the Kingdomes, and the honour of the King. Artic* 6. and elsewhere.

All which considered, I may conclude, that no Subject in this Kingdome, who has not cast of the conscience of that which is just and right, (much lesse such an one, that abhorres the designes and proceedings of these men, and has suffered in opposition to them) can approve and allow the Contents of this Covenant, and bind himselfe to a reall pursuance of them. But he will rather say to his soule in the Psalmists words, *Wilt thou have any thing to doe with the stoole (or seat) of wickednesse, which imagineth mischief as a Law? Psal.* 94. 20. or as *Iacob* of the *Brethren of Cruelty, Oh my soule come not thou into their secret, Gen.* 49. 6.

After the Resolution of Conscience, it will be needlesse to stand upon outward Motives, those evills of desolation which these men threaten, as you say, to bring upon Family, Posterity, Inheritance; yet I desire you consider that Houses and Families doe continue by the providence and blessing of God, not by the will of Cruell and *blood-thirsty men*, who (as the Psalmist threatens them) shall not themselves *live out halfe their dayes.*

Thus much for the resolving and keeping a good Conscience in the refusall of this Covenant, by reason of the grosse and palpable iniquity of the Contents thereof; now for the recovery of Conscience ensnared by entring this Covenant, we must consider the *not binding* of it, if taken.

Which

Which was the ſecond point propoſed at the beginning.

This is a certaine Truth. That the matter and intent of the Covenant being unlawfull, it cannot bind to performance, no more, then *Herods* oath did bind him to proceed to execution, *Matth.* 14. or the great curſe under which thoſe forty Conſpiratours, *Act.* 23. combined themſelves to make an end of *Paul*, could indeed oblige them to performance.

But there are two ſorts of men that abuſe themſelves by a miſconceit of the *not binding* of this Covenant. 1. Thoſe that are ſuffered to take it with expreſſe Reſervations of their owne framing, which doe annull and fruſtrate the whole Contents, and leave nothing to bind them; as thus, *I take this Covenant, ſo farre forth, as it doth not contrary the Oath of Supremacy and Allegiance*, or the like. And thus the Iudges there, as it is ſaid, were permitted to take it. But they, as wiſe as they are, ſhould have conſidered, that, although indeed they be not bound to performe the Contents of this Covenant being made void by ſuch reſervations, yet will they be made to know, they muſt performe and proceed as farre as their Maſters (who impoſe it) doe, or ſhall think fit to doe upon after occaſions, and for default will be dealt with, not as *Malignants* only, but as *perjured* Perſons. They ſhould alſo (as knowing as they are) learne, that while they thus play faſt and looſe within the compaſſe of their owne Law, Gods Law caſts an heavy bond upon them, the guilt of an heinous ſinne in mocking and taking Gods name in vaine after ſo high a manner. For when Reſervations are allowed in the taking of Oath or Covenant, they muſt limit the matter of it but in part, and not deſtroy it in the whole; for then the whole buſineſſe is, as was ſaid, an open mockery, a preſumptuous taking of Gods name in vaine, and requires a ſpeedy repentance.

II. The other ſort are thoſe, who hearing this doctrine, *That this Covenant being taken doth not bind to performance, by reaſon of the unlawfull Contents of it*; doe ignorantly and by ill conſequence conclude themſelves into it after this manner, *If it binds not, then may we take it, and theres no harme done.* They muſt know, that although it binds not to performance, becauſe no man can ſtand bound to doe that which is unlawfull and wicked, yet if they take it, it binds them under the guilt of a grievous ſinne, in calling God to witneſſe, they will doe that, which indeed with a good conſcience they cannot performe. Such I ſay, are not bound to performe what they have wickedly undertaken and promiſed by this Covenant, but they are bound ſpeedily to repent of the grievous ſinne they have committed both againſt God, whoſe name and Majeſty they have abuſed in taking ſuch a Covenant, and againſt the King their Soveraigne, to whom they were bound by the oathes of Allegiance and Supremacy, in duties contrary to the deſignes and intention of this Covenant, and ſo had need to make haſt in returning to their duty, as *Shimei* did after he had curſed the King, *And Shimei fell downe before the King and ſaid, Let not my Lord impute iniquity to me, neither doe thou remember that which thy ſervant did perverſely on the day that my Lord the King went out of Jeruſalem. For thy ſervant knoweth, that I have ſinned, therefore behold I am come the firſt this day to meet my Lord the King.* 2. *Sam.* 19. 19, 20.

Sir, I hope you will not need the advice of this latter part, but will, according to the direction of the former, endeavour to keep a good Conſcience, which you ſhall find in this your durance to be *a continuall feaſt.* I pray God direct and ſtrengthen you.

A

A SOLEMNE League and Covenant

FOR

Reformation, and Defence of Religion,
The Honour and Happineſſe of the

KING;

And the Peace and Safety of the three Kingdoms

OF

England, Scotland, and *Freland.*

WE *Noblemen, Barons, Knights, Gentlemen, Citizens, Burgeſſes, Miniſters of the Goſpell, and Commons of all ſorts in the Kingdoms of* England, Scotland *and* Ireland, *by the Providence of God living under one King, and being of one reformed Religion, having before our eyes the glory of God, and the advancement of the Kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, the honour and happineſſe of the Kings Majeſty, and His Poſterity, and the true publike Liberty, Safety and Peace of the Kingdoms, wherein every ones private condition is included, and calling to mind the trea-*

cherous and bloudy plots, Conſpiracies, Attempts and practices of the Enemies of God, againſt the true Religion, and Profeſſors therof in all places, eſpecially in theſe three Kingdoms, ever ſince the reformation of Religion, & how much their rage, power, and preſumption, are of late, and at this time increaſed and exerciſed; wherof the deplorable eſtate of the Church and Kingdome of Ireland, the diſtreſſed eſtate of the Church & Kingdom of England, and the dangerous eſtate of the Church and Kingdom of Scotland, are preſent and publike Teſtimonies; We have now at laſt, (after other means of Supplication, Remonſtrance, Proteſtations, and Sufferings) for the preſervation of our ſelves and our Religion, from utter ruine and Deſtruction, according to the commendable practice of theſe Kingdoms in former times, and the example of Gods people in other Nations, after mature deliberation, reſolved and determined to enter into a mutuall and ſolemne League and Covenant, wherin we all ſubſcribe, and each one

of

of us for himself, with our hands lifted up to the most high God, do swear:

I.

That we shall sincerely, really and constantly, through the Grace of God, endeavour in our severall places and callings, the preservation of the Reformed Religion in the Church of *Scotland*, in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government, against our common Enemies, the Reformation of Religion in the Kingdomes of *England* and *Ireland*, in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government, according to the Word of God, and the Example of the best Reformed Churches; And shall indeavour to bring the Churches of God in the three Kingdomes, to the neerest conjunction and uniformity in Religion, Confession of Faith, Form of Church-Government, Directory for Worship and Catechizing; That we and our posterity after us may as Brethren live in Faith and Love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of us.

II.

That wee shall in like manner, without respect of persons, endeavour the extirpation of Popery, Prelacy, (that is, Church-Government, by Arch-Bishops, Bishops, their Chancellors and Commissaries, Deanes, Deanes and Chapters, Arch-Deacons, and all other Ecclesiasticall Officers depending on that Hierarchy) Superstition, Heresie, Schisme, Prophanenesse, and whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to sound Doctrine, and the power of Godlinesse; lest we partake in other mens sins, and thereby be in danger to receive of their plagues, and that the Lord may be one, and his Name one in the three Kingdoms.

III.

We ſhall with the ſame ſincerity, reality and conſtancy, in our ſeverall Vocations, endeavour with our Eſtates and Lives, mutually to preſerve the Rights and Priviledges of the Parliaments, and the Liberties of the Kingdomes, and to preſerve and defend the Kings Majeſties Perſon and Authority, in the preſervation and defence of the true Religion, and Liberties of the Kingdoms, that the world may beare witneſſe with our conſciences of our Loyalty, and that we have no thoughts or intentions to diminiſh His Majeſties juſt power and greatneſſe.

IIII.

Wee ſhall alſo with all faithfullneſſe endeavour the diſcovery of all ſuch as have beene, or ſhall be Incendiaries, Malignants, or evill Inſtruments, by hindering the Reformation of Religion, dividing the King from his people, or one of the Kingdomes from another, or making any Faction or Parties amongſt the People, contrary to this League and Covenant, that they may be brought to publique triall, and receive condigne puniſhment, as the degree of their offences ſhall require or deſerve, or the ſupreame Iudicatories of both Kingdomes reſpectively, or others having power from them for that effect, ſhall judge convenient.

V.

And whereas the happineſſe of a bleſſed Peace between theſe Kingdomes, denyed in former times to our Progenitors, is by the good providence of God granted unto us, and hath been lately concluded, and ſetled by both Parliaments, we ſhall each one of us, according to our place and intereſt, indeavour that they may remaine conjoyned in a firme Peace and Union to all Poſterity; And that Iuſtice

ſtice may be done upon the willfull oppoſers thereof, in manner expreſſed in the precedent Articles.

VII.

We ſhall alſo according to our places and callings in this common Cauſe of Religion, Liberty and Peace of the Kingdome, aſſiſt and defend all thoſe that enter into this League & Covenant, in the maintaining & purſuing thereof, and ſhall not ſuffer our ſelves directly or indirectly by whatſoever combination, perſwaſion or terrour, to be divided and withdrawn from this bleſſed union & conjunction, whether to make defection to the contrary part, or to give our ſelves to a deteſtable indifferency or Neutralitie in this Cauſe, which ſo much concerneth the glory of God, the good of the Kingdomes, and the honour of the King; but ſhall all the daies of our lives, zealouſly and conſtantly continue therein, againſt all oppoſition, and promote the ſame according to our power, againſt all Lets and impediments whatſoever, and what we are not able our ſelves to ſuppreſſe or overcome, we ſhall reveale and make knowne, that it may be timely prevented or removed; All which we ſhall do as in the ſight of God.

And becauſe theſe Kingdomes are guilty of many ſins and provocations againſt God, and his Son Ieſus Chriſt, as is too manifeſt by our preſent diſtreſſes and dangers, the fruits thereof; We profeſſe and declare before God and the World, our unfained deſire to be humbled for our own ſins, and for the ſins of theſe Kingdoms, eſpecially, that we have not as we ought, valued the ineſtimable benefit of the Goſpel, that we have not laboured for the purity and power thereof, and that we have not endeavoured to receive Chriſt in our hearts, nor to walke worthy of him in our lives, which are the cauſes of other ſins and tranſgreſſions, ſo much abounding

bounding amongst us, And our true and unfained purpose, desire and endeavour for our selves, and all others under our power and charge, both in publike and in private, in all duties we owe to God and Man, to amend our lives, and each one to goe before another in the example of a real Reformation, that the Lord may turn away his wrath, and heavy indignation, and establish these Churches and Kingdoms in truth and peace. And this Covenant we make in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of all hearts, with a true intention to perform the same, as we shall answer at the great day, when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed; Most humbly beseeching the Lord to strengthen us by his holy spirit for this end, and to blesse our desires and proceedings with such successe, as may be deliverance and safety to his people, and encouragement to other Christian Churches groaning under, or in danger of the yoke of Antichristian Tyranny, to joine in the same, or like Association and Covenant, to the glory of God, the enlargement of the Kingdome of Jesus Christ, and the peace and tranquility of Christian Kingdomes, and Common-Wealths.

FINIS.

A BRIEFE NARRATION OF SOME Church Courses

Held in Opinion and Practise in the Churches lately erected in *New England.*

Collected out of sundry of their own printed Papers and Manuscripts with other good Intelligences.

Together with some short hints (given by the way) of their correspondence with the like tenents and practises of the Separatists Churches.

And some short Animadversions upon some principall passages for the benefit of the vulgar Reader.

Presented to publike view for the good of the Church of God by W. R.

LONDON,
Printed by *G. M.* for *Edward Brewster* at the Signe of the Bible on Fleet-bridge. 1644.

A BRIEF NARRATION OF SOME Church Courses

Held in Opinion and Practife in the Churches lately erected in New England.

Collected out of fundry of their own printed Papers and Manuscripts with other good Intelligences.

Together with Some short notes given by the way of their correspondence with the like tenents and practises of the Separatifts Churches.

And some short Animadversions upon Some principall passages for the benefit of the vulgar Reader.

Prepared to publike view for the good of the Church of God by W. R.

LONDON,
Printed by G. M. for Edward Brewster at the Sign of the Bible on Tree-bridge. 1644.

The Preface to the Reader.

CHRISTIAN READER,

GIve me leave before I preſent thee with the Narration following to Apologize ſomething for my ſelf. I have not fallen upon this taske for want of other work, nor out of any itching much leſſe ambitious deſire to appeare in print, which as I never affected, ſo much leſſe now, when it is become no ſingular praiſe. For Scribimus omnes, indocti, doctique; nor out of any malignancie of ſpirit againſt the men (whoſe Church wayes I here relate) whom ſo farre as I know them, I profeſſe (God and my Conſcience bearing me witneſſe) highly to love and honour in the Lord. But the firſt occaſion of my thoughts in this kind was, that a ſolemne agreement being a good while ſince made between the brethren of the independent way (then and ſtill reſiding in London) and thoſe of the oppoſite judgement, wherein (amongſt other things on both ſides agreed upon) thoſe brethren promiſed then ſhortly to put forth a narrative of their doctrine and practiſe in Church courſes, that ſo it might appear where the differences ly: which Narrative being once publiſhed (the materials whereof they then profeſſed to be all ready) they alſo promiſed to joyne with the reſt in preaching againſt the Browniſts, Anabaptiſts, and other Sectaries. But the ſaid brethren (though ſundry times called upon to put forth their Narrative according to promiſe) have yet not onely delayed, but at

length altogether denied to doe the same: upon which denial I began to entertaine some thoughts of making a Narrative my selfe; and began so to doe, but through many discouragements I laid it by againe, till of late some of the said brethren that had formerly promised the Narrative, published a Narration apologeticall, which seemed in title to me a performance of the former ingagement; but when I had read it, I found it nothing lesse, as being neither full nor cleare as a Narration ought to be. But touching that I will say no more, because others better able have, and I hope will deale throughly with it: Onely I let the Reader know that upon this occasion I resumed my former purpose, considering now the necessitie of such a course, in regard that not onely themselves continued in that way, but also others both Ministers and people out of ignorance or inconsideration were daily drawn aside thereto, new Churches were erected according to their module, our Churches and Ministerie, and Gods Ordinances in them began to be neglected, slighted, deserted, yea, contumeliously and scornfully reproached as Antichristian, Babylonish, false and null, that many were distracted and doubtfull what to hold and doe, and to which side to cleave, some thought better of their wayes, and others worse, then they deserved, and both sorts for want of right information what they were. That the full relation of their wayes, if it did not turne men quite off from them, yet, at least, might so far prevaile as to make men pause awhile, and enquire further into them before they were too far ingaged; especially might give occasion of a more full agitation of all these differences in this venerable Assembly of Divines now met for consultation about matters of this nature. That all the printed bookes which I had seen did not together make out a full story, and what was in them here and there dispersed could not be so satisfactorie as to see all things together in a short Synopsis with one view. That my selfe by divine providence had sundry intelligences lay by me,

which

which joyned to what was already printed might either make the storie compleat, or else might occasion and stirre up some other (perhaps of themselves) to publish a better. And lastly, that some of that way contrary to their former promises and actions, and laying by not onely the due regard we thinke they should have had of their brethren of the contrary judgement, but also of the publike peace and common cause of Reformation, (which by such distractions is retarded) have impetuously both in Pulpit and Presse (besides what they have done in private) laboured to promote these their popular Church wayes, as the only wayes of God, and to make all men, they could, to dis-relish and abominate that which (for distinction sake) we call Presbyterian Government. These and other like things (after much pondering in my spirit) at last cast the ballance, and caused me to resolve to pursue my first intention in this way, as here you see.

Now lest I be mistaken, I desire the Reader to understand and beare in mind that I intend not in this Relation to set down all things which they hold or practise in Discipline or Church-Government, but such things onely or for the most part, wherein there lies some difference betweene them and us, or other the best Reformed Churches. Neither doe I intend to wrap up all and every one of the Elders (much lesse members) of the New England Churches in the same imputations: For as much as it is most certain, that though in practise they all generally all alike, yet in their opinion of things practised, much more in the grounds and reasons thereof, some of them doe not onely differ from the rest, but have stiffely opposed the rest therein, which I write to preserve the just repute of some eminent persons there, from such censures and hard opinions as others of them, perhaps, may seeme to merit, and incurre.

Lastly, because every common Reader cannot so easily discern and distinguish of all things here presented to him, therefore I crave leave ere I part to give him some few direction: First,

he must take notice that the whole Narration is divided into severall Chapters, and each Chapter into severall Articles, printed in a Larger Character. 2. At the end of those severall Articles are set down the proofs thereof collected out of their printed Papers, and other Manuscripts of their own either Treatises or Letters written from one friend in New England to another here, the Originals or Copies whereof, at least I have by me, to produce, if need shall so require. 3. After the said proofs of the severall Articles, there usually follow by themselves some short quotations of some one or more writers of the Brownists, which being consulted with, it will appeare, that the opinions and practises of these our brethren in Church Courses mentioned in the preceding Articles doe very much agree with them. A compleat paralell, I confesse, in all things here is not: partly through want of some Brownists Bookes, partly want of leasure to view over those I had, partly also, I beleeve, for want of full agreement between them. For though in substance of things there be too great an accord, yet in some formalities or other accessories there may be differences; in some things some of the Brownists being more rigid then these our brethren are, as in other things these seeme more strict then any of them for ought that by their writings doth appeare. 4. Over against many of the severall Articles, and sometimes also underneath the same there are suggested some short Animadversions, not in way of a set confutation, (that taske is now in better hands) but sometimes by way of quære, or doubt, sometimes pointing (as it were with the finger) to some seeming contradiction to their own tenents or practises, or some apparant repugnancie to the letter of Scripture, or light of common sense, added only of purpose to admonish the vulgar and injudicious Reader, lest by reading things so plausibly put forth (as some of them are) he should be insnared at unawares. 5. Sometimes proofs are more sparingly affixed to the Article, or perhaps

none at all, becauſe the things aſſerted in the Article are apparant by the proofs of other Articles fore-going, or by the generall tenour of the whole diſcourſe, out of which the Reader *himſelf may eaſily (if he be willing) make out a more full proofe. 6. Nor is it alwayes to be expected, that the proofes under every Article ſhould reach every* Punctilio *in that Article, ſo the ſubſtance be proved, the reſt will neceſſarily follow of their own accord. 7. Nor that every proofe ſhould make good every part of the Article; I hope it may ſuffice if all the proofes together will doe it amongſt them. 8. Laſtly, the* Reader *muſt know that when he finds quoted,* Anſ. to 32. q. *and* Anſ. to 9. Poſ. *and* Diſcourſe of Cov. *he is to look for theſe in the booke lately publiſhed by* Mr H. Peters. | Cott. cat. *I call that Treatiſe printed under* Mr Cottons *name of Church conſtitution by way of queſtion and anſwer. There are alſo cited two other printed Letters under the ſame name. When thou meeteſt with* Apol. *that is,* The Apologie of the Churches in New England for Church Covenant, *which I have by me in a Manuſcript. Moſt of the other quotations are of Letters between friend and friend: when you have* Rob. Apol. *that belongs to the Allegation of the* Browniſts, *and is a diſtinct book from the former Apology. The reſt are more eaſie. Now the bleſſing of Heaven goe with this poore Pamphlet, that it may contribute ſome mite to the promoting of the publike good, whereunto it is devoted.* Amen.

A briefe NARRATION

Of some Church Courses generally held in opinion and practise by the Churches lately erected in *New England*.

Chap. I.

Concerning a Plat-forme of Church-Government and Discipline in generall.

1. THis is to be observed and remembred all along, that all the Churches in *New England*, especially within Massachusets bay, at *New* [a] *Plimmouth*, *Quillipiacke*, and about the river of *Connecticute* are of one and the same way in Church Constitution, Government and Discipline, without any materiall difference, so that what may be truly said of any one of them, may be beleeved of them all. *Ans.* to 32. q. p. 82. *J.C.* to *A.H.* *J.W.* in answ. to 10. *Q.* *J.D.* to *L.H.* So all affirme who are.

[a] The Church at *N. Plimmouth* was (as I am informed) one of the first Churches that was setled there; having been a part of Mr *Robinsons* Church in *Holland* (that famous Browniſt) frō whence they brought with them their Church opinions and practises into *N. E.* and which they there still hold and practise without any alteration, so farre as ever I could learne. If therefore they and the rest of the Churches be all of the same way, *Quere* whether they be not all of the Separatists way, at least, in practise: the rather if that be true which Mr *W.* an eminent man of the Church at *Plimmouth* told *W. R.* That the rest of the Churches in *New Eng.* came at first to them at *Plimmouth* to crave their direction in Church course, and made them their pattern. Also I find that Church much commended by *I.C.* in his printed letter to Mr *W.* p. 13.

2. Yet have they no ſet Plat-forme ſolemnly agreed upon amongſt them. But onely they have [b] all acted themſelves into one and the ſame way. *J.W.* in anſw. to 10. *Q. V.S.* to *W.R.*

[b] How ſhould ſuch an exact uniformity amongſt all their churches happen without any expreſſe agreement? Not by miraculous providence, nor immediate inſpiration, I ſuppoſe. If by the cleare evidence of the way reveiled in the Scriptures, and ſhining forth to them, then its a wonder that no other Churches in the world ſhould ſee that light which yet all the Churches in *N. E.* and all their members do ſo clearly ſee, as to practiſe uniformlie without difference, much more that all other Churches ſhould oppoſe it. If by imitation and preſident, one following another, Then *quere*, whether this be not a more rationall courſe, and likely to be leſſe erroneous, that the Churches ſhould joyntly conſider of, agree upon, and in writing ſet down a ſet Plat-forme according to Reaſon and Scripture-Rule, to be obſerved amongſt them, rather then to tye themſelves ſo to preſident, which if cloſely followed is ſlaviſh, and worſe, if looſly, will ſoon breed differences, if not diviſions. And it is not unknowne that ſome ſuch have beene already amongſt them.

3. The reaſon why they have no ſet Plat-forme agreed upon is rendred by ſome of them, to be becauſe ſuch an one is unneceſſary; yea, [c] inconvenient, if not utterly unlawfull, at leaſt ſo as to be impoſed on the Churches; as *J.W.* in anſ. to 10. *Q.* implieth, where he ſaith, We all walke in the ſame way, but not by any publike and ſolemne agreement, as preſcribing to any what to doe. See the *Anſ.* to 32. *q. p.* 63. 64. at large.

[c] Is not a Pattern virtually a Plat-forme, if therefore this be inconvenient or unlawfull, how can that be juſtified? Again, let the Reader obſerve that the Anſwerers (in Anſ. to 32. *q. p.* 63, 64.) ſpeake of ſuch a Plat-forme of Doctrine and Diſcipline, and ſo impoſed [as a binding rule of Faith and practiſe, ſo that all men muſt beleeve and walke according to that Plat-forme without adding, altering, or omitting] but of a Plat-forme ſo impoſed, the queſtion whereto they anſwer was not put, nor reaſonably could be underſtood; Nor is there any ſuch amongſt the Proteſtant Churches, who acknowledge all their plat-formes imperfect, intend to binde themſelves thereto no longer, nor further then they ſhall ſee them warranted by Gods word, and therefore alwayes leave themſelves a libertie to adde to, alter, or repeale any thing therein, as God ſhall give them more light: that clauſe therefore ſo inſerted, ſerves for no other end but to put a greater *odium* upon the queſtion, and a fairer gloſſe upon the anſwere then either of them deſerved. Beſides if a tyrannicall and imperious impoſition of a Plat-forme be ſo ſtill in their eyes, (as alſo it is in ours) then why do they ſo rigorouſly preſſe others (that come amongſt them) to ſuch a perfect conformitie to their preſident, In that they permit no man whatſoever to be a member in any of their Churches, or partake with them in any Church-fellowſhip, unleſſe he exactly enter in their way of entring, and walke in their order. Nor will owne others as Siſter-Churches that differ from them (though but in ſome things) in Church Diſcipline? All which to be ſo will after appeare: Is not this really a more rigid impoſition of their pattern, then any Church ever uſed in urging of their Plat-forme? and that the more inſufferable, becauſe in other Churches the rule is agreed upon, and (for the time at leaſt) ſtand, and publikely held forth in writing, ſo that a man may underſtand before-hand what he binds him-

himselfe unto, and what he may looke for afterwards. Whereas our brethrens course is held forth obscurely in practise only, and how long that practise will continue uniforme in all their Churches, yea, or in any one of them, he can have no assurance, nor how often or how farre they may change he cannot tell; so that he makes but a blinde bargaine at the best. *Obj.* There is a Plat-forme sent over lately called, *The way of the Churches in N.E. Answ.* True, but 1. that is but a meere relation of what hitherto they have practised without any obligation (by vertue of any agreement) to the same courses hereafter. 2. It's compiled by one particular man, not consented to by the rest, as from thence we are informed, and therefore warned by some of themselves, so to look at it, and no otherwise.

CHAP. II.

Of the true visible Church of Christ in generall, and the bounds thereof.

1. THey currantly hold that there is no visible Church of Christ now in the dayes of the Gospell, but a particular Church, which may consist of a very small number, as [d] 7. 8. or 9. persons, but may not exceed the number of so many as conveniently may and ordinarily doe meet together in one Congregation, in the same place, and at the same times, for the solemne worship of God to their mutuall edification. *Ans.* to 32. *q.* *p.* 9, 10. 43. *Cott. cat. p.* 1. *Ans.* to 9. *Pos. p.* 62. *R. M.* to *W. R.* *H. W.* to Master *B.*

See Johns. pten. p. 250. *Rob. Apol. p.* 12. *Rob. justif. p.* 107. 108. 111.

[d] Though it were granted that there is now no visible church indued with power of Govern. and in which Church Ordinances may bee administred (for of such onely we here speake) but particular, yet it may be a *Quere*, 1. Whether so few as 7. 8. or 9. may make up such a compleat organicall body fitted for exercise of Church power. For suppose one of the 7. or 8. members of this Church offend his brother, the brother offended admonisheth him, he denies it, one or two more of them must be called in to witnesse it, yet he relents not, one or two more yet must be joyned to the first, the party offended, to joyn in the second admonition, yet still he is obstinate, now the matter should be brought to the Church, who must be another company from the former, (for they are all plaintiffes or witnesses, and therefore cannot be judges in the cause) Also that Church must be in reason a greater body, and of higher authoritie then the former, but in this small number of 7. or 8. where will such a Church be found? Therefore in a Church consisting but of 7. 8. or 9. no censure can passe, much lesse any other Church act be sped. Againe, how can so few either imploy, or ordinarily maintaine officers of so many sorts as themselves hold necessarie in every Church? and if they cannot have officers, how should they have Church Ordinances regularly?

2. It may be a *quere* whether this particular Church may lawfully be no more in number then one only Congregation, since the Apostles Churches (most or least if not all) consisted of so many thousands as possibly could not meet all conveniently together in the same place,

place, and at the same times for all Gods publike Worship to Edification. For which see more in Master *Rutherfords* and Master *Baits* late Treatises. Neither doe we ever read of any more Churches in one place or citie, and the neighbourhood, but one, which (though multiplyed never so much) yet was never subdivided into more Churches then one, yet might be and were so many as possibly could not meet together in one congregation for Worship, unlesse both the place were very spacious (which usually they then had not) & withall the Minister that did officiate had both a bodie of brasse, and voice like a Trumpet. Men of ordinary strength not being able to speake audibly to above two or three thousand at the most, and most men not to one. Much lesse can half so many communicate at the Lords Table at once. Besides, how will ever any competent number in countrey villages, and places lesse populous, be ever joyned together into one Church, especially if we be so curious in choice of our members as our *N. E.* brethren are? Surely we must either take such inconsiderable numbers as they doe, and as can neither imploy nor maintaine Church-officers (which would bring with it unsufferable inconveniences) or else they must be fetched from places so far distant, as must force them either to travell far from their severall abodes to the same meeting place for worship Winter and Summer, or else many of them to be without all Church-Ordinances, or to enjoy them rarely: the former of which is oppressive to their bodies, the later injurious to their souls, neither of them seemes suitable to the goodnesse and wisedome of God, who (as 'tis said of the Sabbath) hath made Church-ordinances for man, not man for Church-ordinances. But I intend no dispute, I only propound my doubts.

2. Therefore they deny all [b] Nationall and Provinciall Churches, much more an universall visible Church in any sense. *Ans.* to 9. *Pos.* p. 62. 63. 66. *Apol.* p. 7. 23. *R. M.* to *E. B.* p. 2.

Rob. justif. p. 217.

[b] True in such sence as the Jewish church was: For they had a place of Nationall meeting, the Temple; a nationall worship in the sacrifices, nationall officers the Priests; and therefore at certaine times all the nation (representatively in the males) came up to that place and worship. But (though not in that) yet in some other sense may be admitted both a Nationall Church and Provinciall, yea, and Diocesan too; as a Domesticall Church, *Rom.* 16. 5. *Philem.* 2. As all the scattered Jewish Churches are called one flock, 1 *Pet.* 5. 2. and all the Gentilish Christian Churches present were called one little Sister, *Cant.* 8. 8. And the Jewish Christian Churches yet to come are called one Bride, *Revel.* 19. 7. And the Scriptures oft speake of many Churches, or all, as one in the singular number, 1 *Cor.* 10. 32. *Ephes.* 3. 10. *Gal.* 1. 13. by reason of some bonds by which they are united together. And our brethren themselves do sometimes acknowledge an universall visible Church (though usually they deny it) as *Apol.* p. 16. 21. 37. 40 yea, and officers too of that Catholique Church, *viz.* Apostles and Evangelists, which therefore (while they remained) baptized persons into that Church, wheresoever they met with them without any respect to a congregationall Church, as themselves acknowledge.

3. Also they deny all [f] representative Churches, whether the officers of one particular Congregation representing that Church in the judicature within it selfe, or the Commissioners

[f] Yet sometimes themselves are forced to use Commissioners or Messengers to represent

missioners of severall Churches meeting together in a compound Presbyterie or Synod representing all those Churches by whom they are sent.

Rob. justif. 162.

the whole body absent. As at the constitution of any new church, as after followes. So in their private examinations of members to be admitted. As after too. Especially in their late Synod at *Cambridge* in *N.E.* And alwayes that part of the Church which is present includes others that are absent by representation, and the males the women.

4. This particular visible Church they define to this effect, It is a mysticall body whereof Christ is the head, the members are Saints, called out of the world, and united together into [g] one Congregation by an holy Covenant to worship the Lord and edifie one another in all his holy ordinances, *Cott. cat. p.* 1. *Answ.* to 32. *q. p.* 13.

[g] Here is intimated the number how many they may not be, *viz.* not above one Congregation, nothing said of the number how few: But me-thinks regard should have been had of the one as well as the other, lest a gap be opened to cut and mangle the Churches of God into such small shreds, as will not onely occasion numberlesse differences amongst themselves, but also render them odious and contemptible to all men. Which we see frequently falls out amongst the *Brownists* that follow the same church-courses as these our brethren do. 2. Neither is here any mention of the church-officers as any part of this definition. But how can this be a compleat organicall body, fitted for exercise of all functions of the body, where there are not some to be tongues and eyes as well as others to be hands and feet thereto: *i.e.* some to rule, as well as others to be ruled?

Chap. III.

Of the matter of a true visible Church, what is required thereunto, and how the same may be known.

1. The matter of a true visible Church, is either infants, or persons of age and understanding.

2. In persons of age they require first that they be all reall [h] Saints, sincere beleevers, not onely having common gifts, but also saving graces, that they be not common but choice [i] reall internall holinesse.

[h] All the members of the visible Church should be Saints, holy, &c. but there is an externall and federall holinesse, 1 *Cor.* 7. and this not; what shall become of our infants else? we shall exclude them as *Anabaptists* doe, unlesse we fly to that shift which *Rob.* (*justif.* p 309.) doth, that all infants within the Church are truly converted, and so as fit materials for a Church as the best elder people are.

[i] Reall and internall holinesse is doubtlesse required of all Church-members, *viz. in foro interno*, and unto acceptation with God, but not *in foro externo*, and unto admission into the Church.

3. There is a double [ought to be Saints] or obligation to reall holineſſe: one morall, *vi præcepti*, becaule God hath commanded all his people to be holy, as he is holy, 1 *Pet.* 1. another Phyſicall, as abſolutely neceſſary to the meere being of the Church, and without which it were a falſe Church, no Church. In the former ſenſe all are bound to be holy, not in this latter. R. For if it were ſo eſſentiall, then either that all ſhould be ſo holy, or that ſome of them onely. Not that all; for then that would overthrow the truth not only of all the Churches in the world beſides, but alſo of their own too; into which not only their reaſon, but alſo their experience hath taught them that both hypocrites and heretickes may wind in themſelves. Nor that ſome of them onely: For there is no more reaſon for ſome to be bound, to be holy, then for all. Beſides at the erecting of ſome Church: Suppoſe the firſt 7. or 8. that combine in Church-covenant ſhould all prove hypocrites (as tis not impoſſible) but not as yet diſcovered, whether is this a true viſible Church or no? And if another (though a true beleever) joyne himſelfe to them, is he a member of a true viſible Church or no? How ſhall he know his ſtanding in that Church to be lawfull? or how can he in faith continue in their fellowſhip, partake with them in ordinances, and ſubmit to their cenſures, or joyn with them in cenſuring of others? ſeeing (by this rule) they being none of them true Saints but all hypocrites, that their Church wanted true matter, and ſo was incapable of the true forme of a Church, and therefore proves a falſe church, and all their church acts (and his with them) are ſo many nullities, uſurpations, prevarications.

4. If none but reall Saints may be admitted, then none but ſuch may be retained: will they then excommunicate all perſons out of their church that live without ſcandall, yet are not convincingly gracious?

Christians. *Anſ.* to 32. *q.* *p.* 8. 9. *Diſcourſe of Cov. p.* 4. *Anſ.* to 9. *Poſ. p.* 6. 7. 10. *Apol. p.* 2. 6. 21. 43. *Corr. rat. p.* 3. 4. *R. M.* to *E. B. p.* 5. 9.

So *Rob. juſt. p.* 11. 38. 41. 47. 48. 61. 91. 254.

Yea, convincingly ſuch, *T. G.* to *J. G.*

Meek and humble ſpirits, for feare they ſhould abuſe their Church-power. *E. O.* to *W. R.*

Voide of inſincere ends in ſeeking of Church-Communion. *Diſcourſe of Cov. p.* 4.

If any others ſhould attempt to be admitted, the Church were bound (upon diſcovery) to repell them. *Apol. p.* 2. 3. 4. 5. 24. 33. 43. *R. M.* to *E. B. p.* 5. The reaſon of which is rendred, leſt they take an harlot into the boſome of Chriſt in ſtead of a chaſte Spouſe.

If any ſuch be admitted they are not true but falſe matter of the viſible Church.

[1] Admit it were neceſſary *ad eſſe eccleſiæ* that all the members ſhould be really holy, yet ſtill the queſtion might be by what rule wee ſhould eſtimate that their holineſſe;

3. That the Church may conſiſt of none but reall Saints, ſo farre as in them lies, they hold the Church is bound to make [1] ſtrict inquirie, and take exact triall of all ſuch perſons as are to be admitted into Church-fellowſhip: yea, ſo much and ſo long, as untill they have throughly approved their ſincerity. *Diſcourſe of Cov. p.* 10. *Anſ.* to 9. *Poſ. p.* 7. *Apol.*

*Apol.p.*2.43. *R.M.*to *E.B.p.*5. *R.M.* to *T.S.* This laſt giveth this advice to his friend intending to goe over. Above all things let thoſe that come to *N.E.* ſearch their eſtate well towards God, and make their calling ſure before they come. For if men come to offer themſelves to be members of any Church here, their evidences will be then viewed and ſcanned, and ſearch will be made what they can ſay for themſelves to ſhew both their cutting off from ſin and ingraffing into Chriſt; and many other ſuch warnings from thence we have had.

See *Barr.diſc.p.*33. *Rob.juſtif.p.*255.256. *Rob. Apol.p.*81. *Can.neceſs.of ſeparation.p.*167.

whether by the rule of a large charitie which beleeveth and hopeth all things, judging all them to be ſanctified that doe not give convincing and unqueſtionable proofe of the contrary, or of a ſtrict ſeveritie in accounting none to be ſo, but ſuch as give convincing and unqueſtionable proof that they are ſo indeed? And whether in this inquirie the church is to accept of all fayre overtures and ſhewes of Grace, in ſuch as offer themſelves, as ſufficient, for the preſent, to admiſſion, or muſt more narrowly ſearch and ſound mens hearts to the bottome? ſeeing the Scripture ſaith to a particular perſon, If thy brother ſay it repenteth me, thou ſhalt forgive him. 2. Whether the ſame rule will not by proportion reach alſo to a whole *Church*? and ſo by conſequent to church-admiſſion? neither doe we read of any ſuch ſtrict examination, in admiſſion of members, mentioned in Scriptures, but that men were accepted upon very eaſie and generall termes.

The reaſon why they keep their *Church*-doores ſo cloſe ſhut, is good and plauſible in it ſelf, but applyed to this courſe ſeemes to caſt an aſperſion upon *Chriſt*, that hath made no ſuch rule of prevention, and upon the Apoſtles and their *Churches* which practiſed none ſuch that ever we read of; and ſeemes to be both againſt charitie, that ſuſpects no evill; and againſt *Chriſtian* wiſdome too; For whether is it a greater hurt to the *Church* to admit of ſome (yea many) hypocrites, or to keepe out of the *Church* (through ſuch unwarranted ſcrupulositie) ſome (though but one, or a few) ſincere *Chriſtians*? yea, againſt Juſtice too, 1. In reſpect of hypocrites whom and their children to exclude from outward *Church*-priviledges (if God have not excluded them) is much more injurious then to pull the clothes off their backes, or their meat out of their mouthes. 2. Eſpecially to ſome ſincere *Chriſtians* and their infants, as it may fall out, to whom by all right, both before God and men, *Church*-ordinances doe belong, who yet by this ſtrictneſſe are defrauded of the ſame.

4. In which triall they uſe to require, firſt, [k] Letters of recommendations from other Churches or perſons abſent. *Anſ.*to 32.*q. p.*28.29. *Apol.p.*1.

Secondly, Teſtimonie of their own members preſent, if there be any that know the parties. *Apol.p.*1. *Anſ.* to 32.*q. p.*24.

Thirdly, Experience of their Converſation amongſt themſelves: In taking up of which Experience ſometimes the time is long, if other teſtimonials bee wanting.

[k] Doubleſſe any of theſe trials may be taken, with the warrant of Scripture, ſo that they be not extended beyond due meaſure: As 1. if all ſhould be required to concur: is no admiſſion, whereas wee ſee men in Scripture have bin ad-

mitted to Church-cõmunion upon some one of them onely, as *Paul*, *Act.* 9. upon *Barnabas* his testimonie alone. And *Phebe*, *Rom.* 16. 1. upon *Pauls* testimonie. And (where other testimonie is wanting) Experience alone of ones blamelesse conversation, for a reasonable time (where there is nothing to the contrary) may seeme a sufficient argument of his sinceritie, to a Scripture charitie, that is not suspicious, thinketh no evill, but takes all things (that well it may) in the best part. 2. If in examining of mens knowledge and opinion in points of Religion more should be absolutely required then the least measure, and that in meer fundamentals only.

ting. *E. C.* to *R. C.*

Fourthly, They examine them touching their knowledge in the Principles of Religion. *Ans.* to 32. *q.* p. 23.

5. Though some or all the fore-named proofes be given, yet they confide not therein, nor can be satisfied therewith, without a [1] verball declaration (either made by a mans selfe, or else drawne out of him by interrogatories) touching the manner of his Conversion from point to point, and what evidences he can shew of the truth of his grace, of his sound faith, and sincere repentance. *H.W.* to *T.S.* saith, Let none trouble himselfe for a Certificate, it will not availe him, whosoever he be that comes, (though the best knowne, and most eminently godly) must be examined, &c.

[1] *Q.* Whether (when the other foure have preceded) 1. this addition be not superfluous, the other being sufficient to a right qualified charitie.

2. Whether (if the other foure serve not) this be not bootlesse and ineffectuall. Seeing if the party to be admitted be not discovered unsound by any of the other trials, then either he is sound indeed, or else a subtle hypocrite, which if he be, then he will deceive the Church present as well as he hath done others absent, and by his golden words, (wherein hypocrites usually excell) as well or much more then by his deeds and conversation: unlesse we should imagine (as some of that way here doe) that the Church hath in it ever such a spirit of discerning as that it cannot be deceived by any. 3. Whether it be not a thing to many impossible, who know not the time when, much lesse the manner how they were converted, or have forgotten it, or through temptation doe altogether question it; And the rather considering 1. the manner of propounding the questions, which is at the pleasure of him that propounds them: For all know they love no set formes. 2. The manner required in answering, which must be both publike, and *ex tempore* too: Not knowing what will be asked them before it be asked, and therefore not having much time to consider what to answere. 3. Also if we consider the matters about which the man is to be asked: which I shall deliver unto the Reader in some of their own words. *I.W.* to *T.S.* saith, The speciall things they drive at are to finde some degree of legall terrours, Evangelicall mourning for sin, desire after *Christ*, and upon what Promise the soule was quieted. *W.T.* to Master *B.* The chiefe Points that the Church desires to be satisfied in are concerning the cutting off from the old *Adam*, and a mans ingrafting into *Christ*, how the Law hath had its worke, how the Gospell its worke, what sight a man hath had of sinne, what conviction of former erroneous wayes, what despaire of Salvation in and from themselves, what throwing downe and humiliation, &c? Also whether *Christ* be reveiled to them, in the ministery of the Word, or any other way? what esteeme they have of him? what desire to enjoy him? whether they have yet closed with their Redeemer in any sweet Promise, or be still in a waiting, expecting condition, staying the time when the Holy Ghost will stirre up the act of Faith, make up the

the union, give the assurance, &c. The same hand writes, The Churches here admit none but upon confession of their Faith, and an humble commemoration before God and the Church, how God hath wrought with them, and how farre and in what manner he hath gone along with them in their Vocation, &c. Now (these things before premised being well considered) I aske again, if it be not a thing impossible for many good soules (fit for Church-Societie, and who have right to Church-ordinances) to render such an account, and in such manner, to the satisfaction of a multitude concerning the soundnesse of their conversion.

Yea, 4. I aske whether so to exact it be not a greater usurpation and tyranny over the soule and consciences of men then the Bishops themselves (though bad enough) did ever exercise?

5. If there must needs be such an account given both of mens knowledge and grace, were it not better and safer that a set and standing Rule were by common agreement made according to Gods Word, for triall of both, and this one and the same (for substance at least) in all the Churches, durable, and to continue the same without variation (unlesse upon cogent necessitie) written and recorded, and so made publike not onely to the Churches and their members who are to be measured thereby, but also to other Churches, whom it may concerne to know what their Sister-churches doe, and how they walke in the Lord. For want of such a Rule, by the course which they use, many inconveniences may follow, as in the stronger that can speake better, may grow spirituall pride of their own abilities, and contempt of others that are weaker. In the weaker, envie at those that doe better then themselves, and discouragement, being afraid to offer themselves to triall, because they know not whether they shall be judged fit or no, or having offered themselves, and repulsed, they will hardly offer themselves againe, but rather live they and theirs out of the Church all their dayes: or being accepted and admitted, yet the remembrance of their own weaknesse, perhaps absurdnesse, in delivering themselves before such a multitude, when others have done so farre better, and with more acceptance then themselves, sticking by them may much rebate the edge of that little goodnesse that is in them. And in the whole Church, or many therein, it may occasion partialitie, with more indulgence to some, and rigour to others, errours and mistakes either on the right or left hand, either in the understanding of divine truths, or in laying out the true and certaine evidences of Grace, yea differences and discord between severall Churches, or the members of the same Church thereabout, and about the persons admitted or repulsed, admittable or not admittable into the Church.

6. This declaration is made first in private before either some of the officers, or other persons betrusted with the examination of the persons to be admitted. And after also in [a] publike before all the Church (though never so many) and that so as to the conviction and satisfaction of them all. *Ans.* to 32. *q. p.* 23, 24. *Ans.* to 9. *Pos. p.* 62. 70. *Apol. p.* 2, 3, 4. *R.M.* to *E.B. p.* 6. *J.W.* to *T.S.*

[a] Why may not the officers, or some prime men with them betrusted with their private examination be sufficient, and their testimonie satisfactorie to the Church for a member to be admitted, as well as for a whole Church to be approved? (as in *Chap.* 5. following) Of the inconveniences of bringing all things to the examination of the multitude, see after.

It hath been informed, and is credible, that multitudes of our English in *N.E.* yea, the major part of them are there out of Church order, and so both they and theirs live little better then Heathens,

Heathens, ſome of which before they went were here reputed good folkes, and godlypeople: But is not this our brethrens rigour one of the cauſes thereof? If it be, they had need to have very cleare and ſound grounds for what they doe, or elſe it will be an hearie reckoning for them one day: That many amongſt them are out of the Church. See *Apol.p.*33,36. *Anſ.* to 32 *queſt.p.*7. Maſter *F.* to *I.B. E.O.* to *W.R.* and ſome good ones too: *I.P.* to *W.R. A.M.* to Maſter *C.*

7. When any member of any of the Churches of their own way, goe from one Church to another [n] onely as travellers, or ſojourners for the time, they are admitted to Sacraments, onely bringing with them letters of recommendation from their own Church. *Anſ.* to 32.*q. p.*29. But when any ſuch member comes from one of their Churches to another to be admitted as a fixed member there, then he is not admitted (notwithſtanding any letters of recommendation, or any other teſtimoniall or evidence whatſoever) without ſuch a new [o] Examination as aforeſaid, and as if he had never been examined nor admitted into Church-Societie before. *Anſ.* to 32. *q. p.*29,30. *Anſ.* to 9. *Peſ.p.*62. *Apol.p.* 2,7,9,35.

[n] I ſee no reaſon for this difference, nor warrant for this diſtinction of members temporarie, or tranſient, and fixed, in this caſe. If ſuch exactneſs muſt be had in the one, I ſee not why it ſhould bee diſpenſed with in the other.

[o] By this ſtrict courſe they tell us they have ſeen much good to follow, both in the diſcovering and caſhiering of ſome unſound both in opinion and grace, and in the convincing, humbling, and converting of others. *Apol.p.*3.35. *Anſ.*to 9. *Peſ.p.*65. But 1. all men know that ſucceſſe alone is not ſufficient to legitimate any courſe: 2. They tell us what good hath come thereby, but they do not tell us what evill. How many godly have been kept out of Church-Societie by this meanes, ſome becauſe they durſt not offer themſelves to triall, others becauſe they could not ſatisfie ſo curious a multitude with the evidences of their grace, and ſome becauſe they approved not the courſe, and therefore could not ſubmit unto it: But of the inconveniences of this courſe, ſee before.

8. Notwithſtanding all this rigour and ſtrictneſſe, ſometimes they will aſſure us that the Churches uſe great indulgence in their triall, and ſtoope unto very [p] low termes, that they may take men into Church-fellowſhip. *Anſ.* to 32. *q. p.*8. the knowne Godly are preſently admitted upon their own deſire. *W.T.* to M[r] *B.* ſaith, If a man be humble, and have an earneſt deſire, though he be but in a waiting condition, if in other things he make conſcience of his wayes, he knowes

[p] If it be the mind of God that they ſhould be ſo ſtrict, & that upon the reaſon aforeſaid, viz. leſt they ſhould admit an harlot into the boſome of Chriſt, in ſtead of a chaſt ſpouſe, how can they remit any degree of that rigour, contrary to the mind of God: If it be not his mind, how dare men venture further into the ſearch of other mens hearts, or impoſe any thing upon their conſciences further then they have the mind of God to warrant them?

no

no man of wit will denie him to become a member. The ſame man to *P. H.* If your miniſters were here, they would not think us too ſtrict, but too remiſſe in Diſcipline. I think in time we ſhall grow like old *England*. *E.C. to R.C.* But of their abatements ſee after more particularly.

9. Thus far of the firſt (which is the maine) thing they require in perſons to be admitted into Church-fellowſhip, *viz.* true and reall Saintſhip. A ſecond is, that they be ſuch as can cleave together both in [q] opinion and affection. *Diſcourſe of Cov. p.4.* and that there be a ſuitableneſſe and ſweetneſſe of ſpirit in them, apt to cloſe one with another. *J. Cott.* notes of the Church in *fol. p. 2, 3.*

[q] This is very good, & comfortable, when it may be had, but ſuppoſe ſome differ from us in opinion, in points inferiour? may they not be admitted and tollerated in that, ſo long as they be not turbulent or infectious? And what if men be of more ſowre and cynicall diſpoſitions (*by nature*) muſt no body admit them into Church-fellowſhip? muſt they and theirs be for ever kept out of the Church, and from all Church-ordinances and priviledges, (though they ſhould have truth of grace, as 'tis poſſible they may) becauſe of ſome invincible remaines of an harſh and crabbed conſtitution?

10. A third is, that they [r] cohabite together, as neere as may be, for their better mutuall watching one over another. *Diſcourſe of Cov. p.4. Cott. cat. p.5.*

[r] Doubtleſſe a good rule, agreeing to Scripture Pattern, and the reaſon good: I could wish they that hold it forth ſo ſtrictly to others did not needleſſly ſwerve from it themſelves. For whereas our Law hath tyed all men dwelling within ſuch and ſuch precincts to meet together in ſuch a place, under ſuch a Miniſterie for Gods publike worſhip and exerciſe of Church duties, ſome of them (contrary to this good Law) deſtroy theſe (ſo far forth at leaſt) orderly conſociations, pull aſunder our true (though not pure) Chriſtian Churches, and patch up others of their own making, gotten ſome from one pariſh, (yea, towne, citie) ſome from another, dwelling many miles aſunder, and therefore ſeldome or never meeting together, but at publike worſhip, when they have both their holy-day clothes and courſes on; whereby other paſtors are robbed of their ſheep, confuſion is bred in the Churches, the pattern of Scripture Churches is forſaken, which ever deſcribes the members of each Church by the place of their cohabitation, and (beſides other inconveniences) the maine end pretended for their ſo firme and cloſe uniting by Covenant, *viz.* mutuall watching over each other, is utterly prevented.

11. A fourth thing is, they muſt be ſuch as know what belongs to [s] Church-covenant, and approve thereof. *J. P.* to *W. R. T. G.* to *J. G.*

[s] Therefore, if any man denie, or but doubt of this Church-covenant (*viz.* as diſtinct from the Covenant of Grace) their Church doores are for ever ſhut againſt him. God helpe me then.

12. Lastly, they must seeke and desire Church-membership, and Church-fellowship (*viz.* in their way of it.) *Apol. p.* 11. 39. *Discourse of Cov. p.* 4. *J.W. Ans.* to 10. *Quest. J.W.* to *T.S. Ans.* to 32. *q. p.* 8. *Cott. cat. p.* 4. which if they doe not, they account them [t] despisers of it, yea, wicked and graceless persons, and so unworthy of it. *Apol. p.* 25, 26, 27, 34. *Ans.* to 9. *Pos. p.* 63. *Ans.* to 32. *q. p.* 21. *J.W.* ans. to 10. *quest. Discourse of Cov. p.* 28.

t This is harshest of all the rest: may not such forbearance proceed out of humilitie, or modestie (though unwarrantable) ignorance or tenderneſse of conscience, as scrupling their covenant, and the courses following it, discouragement, or the like: Men forget the royall law of love, *To doe as they would be done to.* Some call sharply for charitie, Charitie, to themselves, that shew but slender charitie to others.

N. Concerning the admission of infants, see after in the 7. CHAP. of Admission, &c.

CHAP. IIII.

Of the Forme of the true visible Church.

1. THey hold the Forme of a true visible Church of Christ is that which they call the [u] Church-Covenant, whereby all the members of the Societie are united to Christ and one to another, which therefore they count absolutely necessarie, essentiall and constitutive to and of the true Church. *Discourse of Cov. p.* 5-15. *Ans.* to 32. *q. p.* 9, 32. *Apol. p.* 6, 9, 17, 19, 20, 21, 24, 25, 38, 39. *Cott. cat. p.* 4.

u This point of church covenant is worthy of deepe consideration, for it will touch the free-hold (not onely of our English Churches, but also) of all the Churches in the world, if this be the rule to try all Churches by.

Without this no true Church, nor true Church members, but all are harlots and concubines. *Apol. p.* 20, 24. *Discourse of Cov. p.* 14, 18, 19, 20, 21, 24.

Without it all men are without the Church, (for which they usually cite 1 *Cor.* 5. 12.) and uncapable of any Church priviledge, *Apol. p.* 6, 11, 13, 19, 20, 24, 25, 27, 38, 39, 42. *Discourse of Cov. p.* 17, 22, 28. *Ans.* to 32. *q. p.* 11, 21, 24, 38. *Ans.* to 9. *Pos. p.* 69.

So the Separatists. *Rob. justif. p.* 75, 79, 56, 81, 82, 85, 86, 110, 210, 207, 231, 257, 351.

2. No

2. No other tye, nor all others imaginable without this, they conceive are not sufficient to knit men together into one Church, nor is there any other way of admission into the Church but by this. Not visible profession and practise of truth and holinesse (though never so compleat and sincere.) Therefore they say * *Job* and *Melchisedek* (with others such eminently Godly) were yet no members of the visible Church, because not within this Church covenant. *Ans.* to 9. *Pos.* p. 66. *Discourse of Cov.* p. 14. *Ans.* to 32. *q.* p. 28, 37. Nor Baptisme. *Ans.* to 32. *q.* 12. Nor cohabitation. *Discourse of Cov.* p. 14, 20. Nor voluntary and usuall frequenting the same place of worship, subjecting a mans selfe to the same officers and lawes of government, nor joyning himselfe in all holy fellowship both publike and private with the same societie. *Discourse of Cov.* p. 21. Nor the law of the land made by the Magistrates authoritie, with our own implicite consent in Parliament, appointing that all Professours of Religion that sit down within such and such precincts, shall be of such a Societie or Church. *Apol.* p. 14. Nor all these together without the Church covenant, which only is sufficient to doe it. *Ans.* to 32. *q.* p. 24. *Discourse of Cov.* p. 5, 14, 18-21, 24, 25. *Apol.* p. 12, 24.

* A strange, yet bold, assertion, spoken without proofe of Scripture, consent of other Authours, or good shew of reason, *Melchizedek* was a Priest, and therefore prayed, preached, and offered sacrifice, but did he this by himselfe, and for himselfe alone? Can there be a Priest by office, without a people? *a Robins. Jud.* p. 230. saith, 'tis an Anabaptisticall errour to hold that Baptisme constitutes the visible Church: I suppose his sense is the same with theirs, when they say that Baptisme admits not into the visible Church; The contrary whereunto, I conceive, is neither Popish nor Anabapt, but may well passe for Orthodoxe (as usually it doth amongst Divines) if we doe but distinguish between admission into the Ch. reall and formall, between the substance of the thing and the ceremonie, or formalitie thereof. The substance and reall admission indeed usually goes before Bapt. For infants of parents within the Church, are born within the Church, and so really within it before they be baptized. And beleevers of age, making open profession of their faith and repentance, are *ipso facto* made members of the visible church by their visible profession. But the formall admission of both in the solemne performance of it, is both acted and sealed at once in Baptisme, which is (as it were) a Christians formall matriculation or inrollment amongst the members of the visible Church. If this be not so, then let them tell me what and when is the formall admission of infants into the visible Church, or are they never formally admitted until they come to age?

3. This covenant they hold to be distinct from the † Covenant of Grace; so, as that many which are within the Covenant of Grace (*i.e.* effectually, yea, and visibly called too) are not within the Church Covenant, and so not within

† Were the question only of the Covenant of Grace to be either entred into, or renewed again and again at:

the constitution or restitution of Churches, the matter were soon at an end; that would be easily granted to be necessary, yea essentiall: And such only were all the Scripture Covenants, which are usually cited by them to prove their Church covenant. But that will not serve their turn. 2. Or were it of a covenant between the officers and their people, I conceive, there would be no strife; this being tacitely implyed in their mutuall choice each of other. You shall be our pastour, &c. and we will be your people; provided 1, it be not obtruded as essentiall, or absolutely necessary to have it expresse. 2. that it be understood with a *salvo jure*, not onely to that particular church and members, nor only to that particular officer, but also to all other Churches, who have a common interest each in other, for the good of all, most of all to God himselfe. 3. Yea, if it were of a covenant between the church and her members, and each member with another of remaining together as a fixed Society, till death (without extraordinary impediment) as a thing in it selfe arbitrary and occasionall only, upon some particular reasons calling for it. I speake what I thinke, This also would not be denyed. 4. Or (which is all that can with any colour of reason be desired) if it were of an ecclesiasticall constitution only, binding the members to the Discipline and Government of such a church (during their convenient abode with it) as a thing expedient only for the better being and better governing of the church, I say, an Ecclesiasticall constitution, consonant to generall Rules of Scripture, though not precisely commanded therein: And which may therefore be intended, remitted, or altered *pro re nata*, according to the generall Rules of Scripture at the Churches discretion; Such as are the covenants or promises required of the members of the *Dutch* and *French churches*; 5 There would not have been many adversaries. But when an expresse vocall covenant is held forth, and with all eagernesse pressed on us, and on all churches as a Divine Ordinance particularly commanded in Scripture, absolutely necessary, essentiall and constitutive to a true church; without which there is no true church, but all societies are whores and concubines, and without which there is no right unto, nor orderly participation of any Church dutie or ordinance: And this so obligatory that it is *piaculum* to remove from that societie, with which one is in covenant, without their generall consent, sought at least (as after is shewed.) And not only so, but also letters are sent over with strong lines, to dissuade our people from living any longer in the way they have done, out of Church order, because out of church covenant. Sermons are likewise preached, bookes printed, and private discourses made, and in all these arguments artificially tied, and passionately and perswasively urged, yea the Scriptures themselves forced to speake for their church covenant as a Divine Ordinance, &c. I say, when it is thus held forth and urged on us, no marvell if it be not entertained without much agitation, yea, if it meet with much opposition, and that amongst the godly and learned both persons and Churches.

in the visible Church, as *Job*, *Melchizedek*, &c. of whom before. And again, many are within the Church covenant, and so within the visible Church, that are not within the Covenant of Grace, as hypocrites in the Church. *Apol. p. 5, 6, 24. Discourse of Cov. p. 3. 16.*

4. Yet sometimes they tell us, it is not distinct altogether, or in substance, but in some respects onely, as a part from the whole, this being a branch of that. *Discourse of Cov. p. 3, 7, 8, 12, 16, 28. Apol. p. 8, 32, 43.* A voluntary

tary profession of [a] subjection thereunto. *Apol. p.* 22, 24. *Discourse of Cov. p.* 18. especially to that part thereof which concernes Church [a] fellowship, and Church duties. *Discourse of Cov. p.* 4, 7, 8, 26. *Ans. to* 9. *Pos. p.* 75. With application to this particular Church [b] onely, to which one is now to be joyned by this covenant. *Discourse of Cov. p.* 10, 15, 28. *Ans. to* 9. *Pos. p.* 75.

z If this Church covenant be but the covenant of Grace, then surely we have it, and renew it daily, in Baptisme, at the Lords Table, on our solemn Fasts, &c. why call they then so eagerly for that we have, as if we wanted it? a. If it be but the Covenant of Grace, what absolute necessity can there be of repeating and renewing it expressly, and reciprocally, at every admission of a new member?

a If it be a covenant of Church duties only, and to this society only, what needs a repetition of the whole covenant of Grace, at least as essentiall to this covenant, and to Church constitution, and to Church membership, more then to a marriage covenant, or any other holy covenant? It may be done at a wedding; true, but to make it essentiall to it, would marre many a lawfull marriage. Nor can it be judged essentiall that the particulars of the covenant of Grace, so farre as they concerne church duties should be (and that so oft) repeated. If two parties intending to marry each other, should doe it in this generall forme only (or the like) he saying to her, He be thy husband, and she to him, He be thy wife, if there were no defect in the covenant, or otherwise; but want of mentioning the mutuall duties that by Gods law belong to married persons, I beleeve that would never make it null: nor would that their covenant the lesse bind them to such mutuall duties, because the particulars were not expresst in the covenant at the marriage-making.

b As this covenant is destructive to our Churches, so is it apt to cause schismes and separations of one Church from another even amongst themselves. Its a partition wall (as one calls it) built up to hinder that communion that ought to be among Churches, and that care that one Church and member ought to have of another. Here being so strict a tye to the duties belonging to our own Church, and the members thereof, but not a word of any dutie to be performed to other Churches, or their members. So that if a member of the same Church with my self want watching, counsell, reproofe, &c. my covenant binds me to performe accordingly. But if one of another Church doe need as much, and I have fit opportunitie, &c. yet by this covenant I have nothing to doe with him, he is without to me, 1 *Cor.* 5. 12.

5. And this covenant is made by every member, both with God, and the Church, and by the Church also backe againe with every member. *Discourse of Cov. p.* 4, 10, 12. *W. ans. to* 10. *quest. R. M. to W. R.*

6. And thus they define it. c 'Its a solemne and publike Promise before the Lord and his people, whereby a company of Christians called (by the power and mercie of God)

c All the middle part of this definition explaines the matter of a true Church: Of which in the former Chapter: onely the beginning and end doe shew the nature of the Covenant (which they call the Forme) of which here in this Chapter.

to

to the fellowship of Christ, and (by his providence) to dwell together, and (by his Grace) to love and cleave together in the unitie of faith and brotherly love, and desirous to partake (according to the will of God) in all the holy Ordinances of God together in one Congregation, doe bind themselves to the Lord to walke in all such [d] wayes of holy worship to him, and of edification one towards another, as God himselfe hath required in his word of every Church of Christ and the members thereof. *Apol.p.5. Discourse of Cov.p.3. Apol.p.5.*

d The words are good and faire; but he that takes this covenant had need to consider that in the sense of them that give it, The wayes of God, are their wayes of Church constitution, and popular Government, which if he be not upon good ground satisfied that they are indeed the wayes of God, then how can he safely ingage himselfe to them by this covenant, and that not only to be a patient, to tolerate what he cannot mend, but even to act with them also in the same? Our brethren conceive that a Minister in swearing canonicall obedience, *in omnibus licitis & honestis*, to a Bishop, did thereby justifie Episcopacie; And doe not by the same reason, all that take this covenant justifie popularitie and independencie.

7. The properties hereof: 1. It is sacred not civill. *Discourse of Cov. p.3,4.* 2. It must be publike before all the Church. *Discourse of Cov. p.4,17. R.M. to W.R.* 3. Vocall and expresse. *J.W.* ans. to 10. *quest. Apol.p.45.* 4. So firmely binding, as that it cannot be loosed without the consent of the Church. Of which see more after.

8. After all this rigourous exacting of this Covenant, sometimes they mollifie the matter, and tell us, That an [e] agreement or consent to be members of this or that societie, and to walk with them in Church fellowship will serve and is equivalent. *Apol.p.32,44. Discourse of Cov. p.21, 22,23. T.G. to J.G.* And sometimes in stead of exacting this covenant, they onely inquire what is mens intention, whether they intend to doe so or no, and if they intend it, that sufficeth. Mr *W.* to Mr *P.* And as for us, they sometimes acknowledge, that our consent to the law of the land made by King and Parliament, appointing that all such as sit down within such precincts, shall be of this or that Parish or Church, is an implicite covenant. *Apol. p.14.* and sometimes that our promise to beleeve & walk according to our Articles of Religion is sufficient. *Discourse of Cov. p.49.*

e If so little will serve, what need such outcries for more, and the truth of all Churches to be questioned, such sharpe contentions amongst brethren to be raised, and sad separations of one Church and Christian from another to be made about and for want of an expresse covenant as essentiall and absolutely necessary to Church estate?

9. This Covenant amongst them, though for substance of matter it be all one, in all their Churches, yet in forme of words it is divers in divers Churches, but in the same Church it is ever in one and the same [f] Forme of words, as well as matter, and therefore put in writing, and when any one is admitted it is then read, either by the party himselfe that is admitted, or else unto him by some other man, whereunto he is to give his assent. *R. M. to W. R. Apol. p. 5.*

[f] Here we have a set forme of holy Covenant in the Church, (a principall part of worship) invented by one or more men (perhaps of a former age) and imposed upon others, even as many as shall enter into that Church, read also upon a book: And what is this better or more lawfull then such a set forme of Prayer, especially since this covenant is imposed as an Ordinance of God, and absolutely necessarie, so as no book prayer is. And seeing the matter is confest to be all one in all Churches, why may not the forme also be lawfully all one by mutuall agreement; And if one forme of covenant be lawfull for all the Churches consociated? why not one forme of Leitourgy, or Directorie for worship also?

10. One or two of their formes I will here insert, that the Reader may the better by example take up their sense touching this Covenant.

1. The Covenant of the *English* Church at *Roterdame* (as is reported to us) renewed when Mr *H. P.* was made their Pastour, was to this effect.

WE Whose names are here-under Written, having a long time found by sad experience how uncomfortable it is to walk in a disordered and unsettled condition, &c. 1. & Doe renue our Covenant in Baptisme, and avouch God to be our God. 2. We resolve to cleave to the true and pure Worship of God, opposing to our power all false Wayes. 3. We will not allow our selves in any known sin, but will renounce it, so soon as it is manifested from Gods Word so to be: the Lord lending us power. 4. We resolve to carry our selves in our severall places of government and obedience with all good conscience, knowing We must give an account to God. 5. We will labour for further growth in grace, by hearing, reading, prayer, meditation, and all other Wayes We can. 6. We meane not to over-burthen our hearts With earthly cares, which are the bane of all holy duties, the breach of the Sabbath, and the other Commandements. 7. We will Willingly and meekly submit to Christian Discipline, Without

[g] All things in these two formes, in a fair construction, are very good, but some things are subject to an harsh construction: as, where they promise to submit to Christian Discipline without murmuring, *i. e.* as some would thinke without complaining: But what if he receive wrong, may he not orderly complain either to his owne Church, or to the neighbour Churches for redresse? Especially that clause seemes to be of a very large extent, where they promise to be rea-

murmuring,

dy to take their Churches advice for themselves and theirs, as occasion shall be presented: which will reach (if extended to the utmost) not only to restrain their libertie of removall from that Church, without their consent (which yet were too much) but also in other things, as in marrying a mans daughter, changing a mans servant, taking a journey, making a bargain, &c. 2. Here are many good duties promised, and sins protested against, but the most of them are common to all men, at least to all Christians (not to Church-members only.) But by the same reason that its needfull and usefull to expresse these particulars, 'its needfull and usefull to expresse many more: as they protest against oppression, idlenesse and earthly cares, may they not as justly adde non-payment of debts, wastfulnesse by pride, apparell, and riot in wines, and the like? 3. The former covenant mentions little or nothing of that for which the Church-covenant is so pressed as essentiall, &c. viz. Church-fellowship in Church-duties with appropriation to this particular Church: And may be as fit at a wedding as at the constitution of a visible Church, for ought I know. 4. The latter tyes strictly to duties to their own Church, but no word of watching over, admonishing, comforting, releeving the members of other Churches, or Christians that are no members. Charitie, they say, begins at home, but it should not stay there. It seekes not its owa things only, but also the good of its neighbour, of as many as possibly it can.

murmuring, and shall labour so to continue, and will endevour to be more forward, zealous, faithfull, loving and wise in admonishing others. 8. *We will labour by all our abilities for the furtherance of the Gospell as occasion shall be offered to us.* 9. *We promise to have our children, servants, and all our charge taught the Wayes of God.* 10. *We will strive to give no offence to our brethren by censuring them rashly by suspitions, evill speakings, or any other Way.* 11. *Lastly, We doe protest not onely against open and scandalous sins, as drunkennesse, swearing, &c. but also against evill companie, and all appearance of evill to the utmost of our power.*

Per me *F. H.*

2. The Covenant of the Church of Christ at Salem was renewed to this effect.

WE whose names are here-under written, members of the present Church of Christ at Salem, &c. solemnly in the presence of God, &c. renew that Church Covenant which We find this Church bound unto at their first beginning, viz. We covenant with the Lord, and one With another, and do binde our selves in the presence of God to walk together in all the Wayes of God, according as he is pleased to reveale himselfe to us in his Word. And doe more explicitely in the feare of the Lord profesſe and protest to walk as followeth.

1. *We*

5. We have in the latter a particular promise, not to be forward in speaking in publike, or scrupling: By which it appeares that they are allowed (when called) publikely both to speake (that is as I understand it, to prophecie) and to scruple (that is, so propound questi-

1. *We avow the Lord to be our God, and our ſelves his people, in the truth and ſimplicitie of our ſpirits.* 2. *We give up our ſelves to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and the word of his Grace, for the teaching, ſanctifying, and ruling of us in matters of Worſhip and converſation, reſolving to cleave to him alone for life and glorie, and oppoſe all contrary Wayes, canons and conſtitutions of men in his Worſhip.* 3. *We promiſe to walk with our brethren and ſiſters in this Congregation with all watchfulneſſe, and tenderneſſe, avoiding all jealouſies, ſuſpitions, backbitings, cenſurings, provokings, ſecret riſings of ſpirit againſt them, but in all offences to follow the rule of the Lord Jeſus, to bear and forbear, give and forgive, as he hath taught us.* 4. *In publike or private we will willingly do nothing to the offence of our Church, but will be ready to take advice for our ſelves and ours, as occaſion ſhall be preſented.* 5. *We will not in the Congregation be forward either to ſhew our own gifts or parts in ſpeaking, or ſcrupling, or there to diſcover the failings of our brethren or ſiſters, but attend an orderly call thereunto: knowing how much the Lord may be diſhonoured, &c. by our diſtempers, and weakneſſes in publike.* 6. *We binde our ſelves to ſtudie the advancement of the Goſpell in all truth and peace, both in regard of thoſe that are within and without, no way ſlighting our Siſter-churches, but uſing their counſell, as need ſhall be, not laying a ſtumbling block before any.* 7. *We hereby promiſe to carry our ſelves in all lawfull obedience to thoſe that are ſet over us in Church and Common-wealth, knowing how wel-pleaſing it will be to the Lord, &c.* 8. *We reſolve to approve our ſelves to the Lord in our particular callings, ſhunning idleneſſe as the bane of any ſtate, nor will we deal hardly or oppreſſingly with any.* 9. *We will alſo to our beſt abilities teach our children and ſervants the knowledge of the Lord, and his will, that they may ſerve him alſo.*

O. H.

11. This Covenant (thus diſtinguiſhed from the Covenant of Grace) they hold to be that Covenant which is

ons, make objections, &c.) elſe what need a law to reſtrain them from doing it uncalled? And if it were not for ſome ſuch law to reſtrain them, there muſt needs be much confuſion where each member hath equall power, if he had equal liberty to exerciſe that power when he pleaſed. But what differs this law (in force) from an Eccleſiaſticall Canon? but that Canons are now grown out of requeſt, that Church Covenants may bee the better cryed up.

6. In this latter alſo here is a ſtrict tye or bond of walking together in Church-fellowſhip, and mutuall watchfulneſſe, one over another: But how can they do that, that live farre aſunder, and never ſee one another but at publike meetings? and ſome of them that live ſome thouſands of miles aſunder, and perhaps being Miniſters of Churches there, yet accept of fixed imployments, even the charge of ſoules here. How can theſe watch over one another?

h sealed by the Sacraments, and for the sealing and ratifying of which the Sacraments were principally ordained of God, and therefore to be administred only to such as are first entred into this Covenant, as seales thereof. *Apol. p.* 15, 19, 31. *Ans.* to 9. *Pos. p.* 63, 66. And therefore, that such persons as (by their condition) cannot joyne in Church Covenant, nor live in Church fellowship with a set societie, are not bound to partake in Sacraments. *Apol. p.* 39, 41.

See *Robins. justif. p.* 80, 110. Though I doe not find the *Brownists* so solicitously to distinguish between the Church covenant, and the covenant of Grace, as these our brethren doe.

12. Such as were admitted into their Churches infants by the covenant of their parents, are not yet permitted to receive the Lords Supper, when they come to yeares, untill they have first run through all the foresaid course of i publike and private examination, profession of faith, declaration of the manner of their conversion, and personall, vocall, expresse entring into the same covenant, as others of yeares have before them done, and as if they had never been received members before. *Ans.* to 32. *q. p.* 20, 21.

b Here is a piece or two of such Divinitie as I never heard or read before: but *uno absurdo dato, mille sequuntur.*

i What if upon examination they prove neither convincingly gracious, as wanting expected evidences, nor yet openly scandalous, as being over-powred with Gods ordinances, and good education and government? what shall become of them then, admitted as members to the Lords Supper they shall not be; and excommunicated, I trow, they cannot justly be; By this rule they must remain in a middle condition, neither of the Church, nor without the Church; And what warrant have we for this?

Chap. V.
Of the manner of their first erecting of a visible Church.

1. k ANy small number (almost) of persons (so fitted as before) they hold, may lawfully unite themselves

k The Reader may perhaps think (in reading these two first articles) some fault to be in the collectour, that so foule a contradiction should be held; but if there be any fault, it must be none but their owne, either in holding and practising things in themselves so contradictory, or else in reporting to us such things as they neither hold nor practise: But this contradiction will yet appeare more foule, when we consider what will after follow, that they hold it not only lawfull to do it without their consent, but also sometimes necessary to do it against their consent: of which see Chap. 15.

into

into a Church body, by entring into the Church covenant aforesaid; and so may constitute themselves a true visible Church of Christ, without any authoritative consent of the Christian Magistrate (supposing there be one) or of the neighbouring Churches or their Ministers. *R.M.* to *W.R. Ans.* to 32. *q.p.*43.

*Robins. justif. p.*181,182.

2. Yet a [l] Law is made in their generall Court (civill) that no Church shall be there set up, without the knowledge of the Magistrate, and neighbour Churches. *R.M.* to *W.R.* yea, as M[r] *H.P.* informeth us, not without the consent of five or six of the neighbouring Churches at the least.

[l] The Law doubtlesse is good, as from the Magistrate: but how doth this agree with that opinion (which too many of them amongst us that run the same Church-courses with these brethren hold) that the Magistrate hath nothing to doe with the first Table, unlesse the publike peace be broken, he is to force no man against his conscience too or fro, but leave every man to follow his own light and religion? Also as it is an agreement of the Churches and Ministers, I the rather like it, because it seemes to amount to little lesse in substance then a compound Presbyterie set up amongst them; the rather, if we adde what the same *H. P.* tels us, that they have also agreed amongst themselves that no man shall preach or vent any new or uncouth tenents, untill he have first communicated them with the neighbouring ministers. A very good Canon, especially for these times wherein men run a madding after novelties, and niceties, under the false pretence of a new light, and new truthes.

3. The [m] persons intending to enter into Church estate, doe before hand often meet privately amongst themselves to be inwardly acquainted with each others spirits, by conferring, praying together, and mutually examining each other, untill they have approved themselves to one anothers consciences in the sight of God: Which when they have throughly done in private, then they agree together to enter into a church estate. *R.M.* to *W.R.* | *H.W.* to M[r] *B.*

[m] Here is another Ecclesiasticall canon in act, though not in rule. If this be needfull at the first erection of a Church, that each should try and know others spirits, why not also after at the admission of every member, he to try and know their spirits as well as they his?

4. Which before they doe, notice is given thereof to the Magistrate, and neighbouring Churches, that so such as please may be present at the time and place thereunto appointed. *R.M.* to *W.R.* | *H.W.* to M[r] *B.* [?] *W.* to *T.S.*

5. The number wherewith they usually begin at the first constitution of every Church, is about 7. 8. or 9. *Ibid.*

6. Notice being given, the Magistrate and Churches send

their [n] Messengers or Deputies to see how things are carried, and to give them advice, direction, approbation, or disapprobation, as they shall see cause. *Ibid.*

[n] Here their Churches use messengers or deputies to represent themselves, and to act in their roome, why not in a Synod as well? And if they may trust their power with their messengers for approving or disapproving whole Churches, much more of particular members at their admission.

7. The day appointed is kept with fasting and prayer, and sometimes (if not alwayes) preaching of the Word, which is performed by some of the persons that now come to be combined into this Church-societie. In the latter end of the day, each of those persons now to be churched (if I may so say) maketh publike profession of his faith, thereby shewing his knowledge, and opinion in the Grounds and Principles of Religion, and declaring from point to point the work of God upon his soule in his Conversion. And all this in an extemporarie (at least) conceived speech, *i. e.* not in any set forme. *Ibid.*

8. Which when the Messengers of the Magistrate and Churches have heard and considered, if they be unsatisfied, (or any stander by) they make their objections, or propound further questions, as they thinke fit, untill they be [o] satisfied, if it may be. *Ibid.*

[o] Its an hard taske to satisfie all commers touching these things, questioning and objecting what they please, and harder for a man to be flayed perhaps for some differences about Church Discipline, or suppose some objection be made against his life, it must here be presently, and openly declared, and scanned before all the countrey. This is little wisedome, less charitie.

9. If in the end the said Messengers be not satisfied, then they or so many of them, as concerning whom they are not satisfied, either in point of knowledge or grace, are forbidden to enter into Church estate, and so remaine still, as before, out of the pale of the Church. *Ibid.*

10. If at length they be fully satisfied, and all doubts cleared, then the said persons proceed to enter into Church-covenant, which being written one of them reads, and all of them subscribe it, and so they are become a true [p] confederated visible Church, as they say. *Ibid.*

[p] If so much time and so many circumstances be needful to joyn 7. or 8. together into

11. Which

one church, how much time would be requisite to joyn 3000. together. But our brethren will acknowledge the Apostles went a shorter way to work. *Discourse of Gov. p.29,30.* the reason whereof they render, because the Church was not then subject to so many hypocrites: which is more then any man knowes, when Christ saith, *Many are called, few chosen.* Many seeke, but few finde. Besides, this course is used by our brethren not to ordinary Christians only, but to the most godly and best approved. I beleeve therefore it was rather, because the Holy Ghost had given them no such direction, nor was this manner of church constitution then hatcht.

11. Which being done the said Messengers of the other Churches give them the right hand of fellowship, and owne them for a sister Church. And so returning backe doe make report to the Churches that sent them, of all things done, and declare to them that they are to account of them as of a true Church of Christ. *Ibid.*

CHAP. VI.

Of Church-power, or the power of the Keyes, the first subject in whom it resides, and the exercise of it in generall.

1. THey hold that every such companie (as aforesaid) though never so small, consisting of private persons only (*i.e.* such as are in no church-office,) and perhaps all illiterate too, yet is rightly and immediately intituled to all the priviledges of the visible Church of Christ, and invested with all Ecclesiasticall ¶ power from Christ, as the first and proper receptacle thereof, have the Keyes of the Kingdome of Heaven committed to them, and may now forthwith administer and partake of all church-ordinances (except onely

¶ Who would not long to be soon churched in this way, seeing thereby immediately they might be indued with so vast a power? This is a sweet morsell, no marvell if peoples teeth water for it. But where or when did God so grant all this power over to the people, that yet he excepted the Sacraments, and them only out of the charter? surely either he gave them all or none. The necessitie of which consequence some Brownists perceiving, therefore of late (here in *London*) have claimed and contended for them also. The word and Sacraments (in our Saviours commission) are knit together, *Goe preach and baptise*, and both settled upon the Ministerie. But our brethren have here divided them, and made preaching common to the people: And though our brethren intend not so, yet in event possibly this may nourish in the vulgar some fragment of poperie, as if the Sacraments were more excellent then the preaching of the Word, they being reserved as peculiar to the Ministers, this common to others with them.

Sacra-

Sacraments) execute all Church-cenſures, and tranſact all their owne buſineſſes within themſelves. *Anſ.* to 32. *q. p.* 10. 41, 44, 48, 42, 50. *Cott. cat. p.* 10. *R.M.* to *W.R. R.M.* to *E.B. p.* 4. | *J.W.* anſ. to 10. *queſt.*

See *Rob. juſtif. p.* 106, 107, 112, 121, 122, 125, 126, 127, 138, 190, 113, 167, 184, 198, 331. Sions royall prerog. Preface. *Barr. diſcov. p.* 39.

2. The particular ſorts of which Church buſineſſes are theſe. 1. Admiſſion of more members into their Societie. 2. Authoritative admonition of members offending. 3. Binding and excommunicating of ſuch as having offended prove incorrigible. 4. Looſing and authoritative forgiving ſuch as upon admonition and excommunication do repent, re-accepting them into the communion of the Church again. 5.[r] Making, *i.e.* examining, electing, and with impoſition of hands ordaining their Paſtours, and all other their officers. 6. Unmaking, *i.e.* degrading and depoſing them again, when they ſee cauſe ſo to do. 7. Preaching, *i.e.* expounding and applying the word with all authoritie to the ſeverall uſes of their members. 8. And generally whatſoever elſe may concerne the edification and ſpirituall good of that ſocietie (ſave onely the adminiſtration of the ſeales.) And all this before they have any officers, or if they have any, yet without reference to them as officers at all. 9. And when they have Miniſters then they have Sacraments too. *Anſ.* to 32. *q. p.* 10, 15, 41, 42, 44, 45, 48, 49, 50, 68. *Cott. cat. p.* 10, 11, 12. *Diſ-courſe of Cov. p.* 23. *Anſ.* to 9. *Poſ. p.* 62, 70, 76, 77. *J.W.* anſ. to 10. *queſt. R.M.* to *E.B. p.* 4. | *R.M.* to *W.R. Apol. p.* 24.

Rob. juſtif. p. 9, 111.

3. All which things they claime to themſelves power to doe without any [f] authoritative concurrence or aſſiſtance of

r How weake good people are and inſufficient without their guides aſſiſtance, to examine Miniſters abilities, to judge of Doctrines, and other matters touching perſons and things needfull to the exerciſe of Church-government, he that pleaſe may ſee in our brethrens late Apologeticall narration, p. 24, 28. Beſides, the experience of the *Boſtoners* in *N.E.* who generally would have choſen Mr *Wheelright* (the notorious Familiſt) to have been co-teacher with Mr *C.* there, had not ſome few withſtood it, as *I.P.* told *W.R.*

f When officers are not yet ſetled in any Church, or being once ſetled do fail through caſualtie, it is agreed upon on all hands that ſome extraordinary courſe is to be taken. Let it therefore be conſidered whether it be not more proper and neerer to the ordinary rule, to call in the aſſiſtance of the officers of ſome neighbouring churches (by vertue of that communion of Churches which themſelves acknowledge) to ſupply the want of their owne officers in examination, ordination, and depoſition of Miniſters, &c. rather then to uſe meere private perſons, *i.e.* non-officers of the ſame Church?

any

any other Churches or their officers, which they hold unlawfull in others to offer, and in themselves to accept or admit. *Ans.* to 32. *q.* *p.* 41. *R.M.* to *E.B.* *p.* 10.

Rob. justif. p. 335. 339.

4. Therefore they ordinarily convene together (before they have any officers) and hold publike Ecclesiasticall meetings, and execute all Ecclesiasticall duties and offices [t] (Sacraments only excepted) by meere lay men, that neither are, nor perhaps ever shall be officers in the Church.

5. This Church (being thus invested with all Church-power) deriveth part thereof upon her officers, *viz.* so much as she cannot conveniently execute her selfe, and the rest she keeps still in her own hands and executes accordingly. *Ans.* to 32. *q.* *p.* 57. *R.M.* to *W.R.* | *R.M.* to *E.B.* *p.* 4.

Barr. Disc. p. 223.

6. The officers have no power in Church matters, but what the Church deriveth on them, and which she may revoke, and resume unto her selfe, if she conceive they doe not use it well. *Ibid.* And therefore she may call them to account for their actions, though they were even Apostles themselves. *J. Cott.* on 5. viall. *p.* 10.

7. The officers are all but the Churches [u] servants in propriety of speech, and she is the mistresse, the queene. In all things she hath the power of decreeing, and they with her, as others, the meanest members of the Societie: but as Ministers, so they are only as her mouth to speake and her hand to act

t Hereby it comes to passe that because oftimes their Churches are long without Ministers, that they are also long without Sacraments, both the Lords Supper for the elder people, and Baptisme for their infants.

u Where saith the Scripture that the Church should rule her officers, and the officers obey the church? we find that officers are called rulers, and people are commanded to obey them in the Lord frequently, 1 *Tim.* 5. 17. *Heb.* 13. 17. but the other we never find. We find indeed the Apostles call themselves the servants of the Church, as Christ also made himselfe servant unto all, but that is not to be understood properly, but metaphorically, and by way of some similitude, unto servants, who (if good) do seek their masters good, and are for their profit not their owne; so did Christ and all the Apostles seek the Churches good, not their own, and so all Christians are commanded to serve each other in love; But we may not thence conclude that therefore every Christian is in propriete to be anothers servant, for then who should be master? much lesse that the Apostles were properly the servants of the Church, who gave rules to the Church what to doe, and how to walk, but received none from the Church, least of all that Christ was so, who both was and is the head of that body, and King of that Kingdome. We read also that Ministers are to do the acts of their ministerie in the Name of Christ, and by his power, 1 *Cor.* 5. 4. *Matth.* 18. 19. *Mat.* 7. 22. But that they act in the name of the Church, or by the power of the Church, such phrases we do not reade them, and therefore we do not believe them.

what the decrees, doing all things for her, by her power, and in her name. *Ibid.* Mr *N.* to *W. R.* | *R. M.* to *W. R.*

Rob. Apol. p. 49. *Rob. justif. p.* 121, 122, 138, 166, 178, 180, 185, 303, 322.

8. The [x] acts which they ascribe unto the officers, are such as these: *viz.* 1. To declare unto their people the mind of God in any matter, to advise, counsell, exhort, reprove, &c. 2. To moderate in Church meetings, that order may be observed by propounding of things to be debated, gathering of voyces, pronouncing the sentence accordingly. 3. To execute all the Churches decrees, in admission of members, ordination of ministers, admonition, excommunication, &c. *Ans.* to 32. *q. p.* 57. *Cott. cat. p.* 3, 10. *Cott.* on visit. *p.* 9, 10.

Rob. justif. p. 9, 111, 114, 116, 121. *Cannes* necess. of separation, *p.* 135.

x And this were well too, if this service of the Church were reserved only and intirely to the officers, but alas, this is but cõmon to them with other members. For, if either the officers be not, or be absent, or refuse (through scruple of conscience perhaps) to act according to their mind, they will (and they hold they lawfully may) call forth any other member whom they judge fit, and enable him with their power to doe all that which their officers should have done: Sacraments only excepted.

9. [y] Every member of the Societie, that is of yeares (except women) hath equall power with other, even with the ministers themselves (as they conceive) in propounding, debating, objecting, answering, and in judicially decreeing, and giving sentence in all matters of the Church, whether pertaining to faith or manners, doctrine or practise whatsoever. *W. T.* to *P. H.* | Mr *W.* letter to a friend. | *Ans.* to 32. *q. p.* 44. *Barr. refut.* of *Giff. p.* 81. and in his *Discan. p.* 36, 38, 125, 223. *Rob. justif. p.* 9, 111, 121. Sions royall Prerog. Preface.

y. This body is all eye, and all tongue, no diversity of members, all governours, none to be governed: All teachers contrary to the Apostles rule, *Are all teachers?* 1 *Cor* 12. 29. And if their reasons for this be well examined, it will appeare they make as much for women to rule, as men. No marvell then if this be so that they complaine in print and otherwise, that Ministers are slighted amongst them, yea, trampled upon by some, *Cott.* on visit. sermon. *p.* 4. Master *H.* to *S. A.* They professe to condemne Morellian and popular Governments, but what can be more popular then this, wherein all have equall power to decree, and any of them may be used to act as well as the officers, and the officers are used as meer servants to the body, which is the Mistresse: At most they are but as the Speaker in the house of Parliament, or as a Moderator in a Synod, which rule not but are rather ruled.

10. And therefore although the officers may lawfully prepare matters in private for the Churches hearing, yet they,

they hold all things ought to have a full publick debate in the presence of the whole Societie, that so they may be able to give their sentence in faith. *Apol. p. 31. J. C.* printed letter, *p. 4.* which is therefore usually done on the Sabbath day after Evening Sermon.

Johns. plea, p. 307. Rob. apol. p. 38.

2 This popular government makes good store of work both for Ministers and people, especially if the body be numerous, as the Apostolicall Churches were, and ours ought to be (if conveniently they may) and if they must all conveene in one Congregation, to heare, examine and debate all matters till all be satisfied, and brought to one unanimous voice. It will not be one houre or two in a weeke, nor in every day of the weeke, nor scarce all the whole weeks time that will suffice to finish all businesses that may fall out. And what time shall the Ministers then have for studie and other duties, or the people to follow their worldly callings? The course seemes neither agreeable to the wisedome of God, nor profitable to the weale of the Church. Besides, the time of keeping their courts (on the Sabbath day) seemes many wayes inconvenient: It must needs tire men out (both Ministers and people) make them forgetfull of what they have heard, neglective of private and domesticall duties, fill their heads and tongues full of worldly discourses, and their hearts of carnall passions and distempers, all which are enemies to the right observation of the Lords day. *Obj.* They finde no such inconvenience, their Churches have few offenders, and when they have, matters are soon dispatched. *Ans.* It may well be, now whiles their choice materials remaine, and their numbers are so small and inconsiderable, but when their Churches shall grow numerous, and their materials (in processe of time) shall degenerate, as they must needes, will not these inconveniences, and many more follow then?

11. Whether matters be carried amongst them by most voyces or no, is not so generally agreed upon. Some affirme that the major part carries it against the lesser part, yea, though the officers be in this lesser part, and do shew strong reason to the contrary. *M. M. to J. M.* Others, that the whole body must agree else nothing proceeds. *J. M. to W. R. Ans. to 32. q. p. 60, 61.* Some, that things are not carried by voyces at all, but by truth and right, and according to God. *Ans. to 9. Pos. p. 72. Ans. to 32. q. p. 58, 60. Barr. disco. p. 78, 261. Johns. plea. p. 307.*

a The question here is not what ought to be done *in foro conscientiæ, & divino*, but *in foro ecclesiæ, & externo*. It will be granted on all hands that all things in the Ecclesiasticall (as civill) Court, ought to be done according to truth and right. But

Sometimes they grant indeed all things are carried by supposing a difference do arise, and both sides pretend to truth and right; (our brethren denying any others to interpose otherwise then by way of advice) the question is then, Whether nothing shall be done, which in the end amounts to little lesse then Anarchy, the mother of confusion, and this of destruction: or that (seeing the officers may not) the maior part of the people shall carry it *in foro externo*? Reason, and the Examples of all other judicatures doe seeme to conclude that the most voyces of the Judges ought to take place.

consent of all; but then they explain it thus, viz. That if it fall out that any lesser number doe dissent, then the greater indeavour to give unto, or to receive from them due satisfaction; which if it be done then all agree in one vote. If the lesser party dissenting neither can give satisfaction to the greater, nor will receive satisfaction from them, but still persist in dissenting, then doe the maior part (after due forbearance, and calling in the counsell of some neighbouring Churches) [b] judicially admonish them; who being thus under censure, their voyce is now extinct, and made voide. And so the rest proceed to vote, which vote is now the vote of all the Church, *viz.* of all that have the power of voting therein. *Anſ.* to 32. *q.p.* 58, 61.

[b] Indeed it were much better that the whole Church, and every member thereof did consent, but to extort and force a consent after this manner, seemes not only harsh and uncharitable, but also foolish, yea, destructive too: For either the aforesaid admonition may sometime proceed to an excommunication or not: If it may not, then 'its vain and of no efficacie to compell consent; it may rather occasion contempt. If it may, then (as suppose it be in the case of admission of some member) for the gaining of one man (and that perhaps none of the best neither) 7, 10, or 20, may be lost, and be cut off from the Church. But were it not better to let all things currantly passe by the most voyces, then thus by seeking to force an universall consent to expose the Church to such dangers and inconveniences.

12. Notwithstanding all this power aforesaid, by them attributed to this Church, when it is yet young, of very small number and without officers too. Yet doe they deny unto it (though growne never so numerous and well furnished with godly and learned officers, and withall strengthened with the consent of other Churches, and the Christian Magistrates authoritie) [c] all power to make any particular rules or lawes in things indifferent (conducing to the better government of her selfe, and more orderly, and more edifying performance of Gods worship, and use of his Ordinances) according to the generall rules of Scripture in such cases provided. *Anſ.* to 32. *q. p.* 66. *Cons. Eccl. p.* 9. *R. M.* to *E. B. p.* 9. *Barr. discov. p.* 84, 255. *Rob. Apol. p.* 73.

[c] Yet contrary to this Article, I believe, themselves take libertie to appoint some humane observances, or which is worse, to impose them on mens consciences for divine Ordinances.

Chap.

CHAP. VII.

Of Church membership and admission of more members into the Church thus constituted and erected.

1. ALL men are bound, say they, to become [a] setled members of such a particular Church, as is before described; And whosoever doth not, (if possibly he can) sinneth. And whether he can or no, yet he remaines for the time without the visible Church of Christ (for which they frequently alleadge 1 *Cor.* 5. 12.) and in that estate uncapable of any [e] Church ordinance or priviledge, though he be not only baptized, but also truly converted, yea, eminent in the profession of faith, and practise of holinesse, even unto martyrdome it selfe. *Ans.* to 32. *q. p.* 11, 30, 38. | *D. to P. p.* 4. *R. M. to E. B. p.* 6. Nay, he is accounted as one that despiseth Church-fellowship, and so unworthy of it, yea, wicked and prophane. *Apol. p.* 25, 26, 27, 34. *Ans.* to 9. *Pos. p.* 69, 82. *Ans.* to 32. *q. p.* 11, 12, 21. | *J. W. ans.* to 10. *quest.* *Rob. justif. p.* 56, 71, 85, 86.

[a] What if it bee (though possible) yet for the present very inconvenient, and discommodious, may they not delay a while? No, say they, yet because that might seeme harsh and heavie, therfore to ingage the more, and withall to make the ingagement the more easie, they allow some to be admitted as members transient, for the time onely. *Apol. p.* 20, 27. But why may not this favour be allowed to all as well as to some? Also how doth this agree with the tenour of the covnant that limits no time? and with the sense of it, that (as they conceive) obligeth all the members to aske and take counsell of the Church, and not to remove without their consent as is both before and after said?

[e] Yet sometimes themselves confesse that men converted have right to the Sacraments, and Church priviledges in their state, as beleevers and men converted: If there were any that could administer the same unto them which ordinary Ministers cannot do, say they, whose power reacheth only to church members. These things do not cohere.

2. Persons admitted are either infants, or such as are of age.

3. When any person of age is to be admitted, he is first to desire and seeke it in this or that particular Church. And therefore to make his desire knowne to the Church by some of the Elders, or members of the same *R. M.* to *W. R.* | *J. M.* to *R. M.* | *J. W.* to *T. S.* | *Ans.* to 32. *q. p.* 8.

[f] If the man be not otherwise wel known and approved, he is not admitted to this.

4. Which said Elders or others doe first privately examine him, till he have lived some good space amongst them, that they may observe his conversation, whatsoever testimonials he have.

mine him, touching his knowledge in the Doctrine of faith, and the truth of his conversion, as is before shewed. *H.W.* to Mr *B.* | *J.W.* to *T.S.* | *E.C.* to *R.C.* | *J.M.* to *R.M. Apol.* p. 3, 4.

5. If the examiners (upon this triall) conceive him not fit to enter into Church fellowship, then he is there stayed without any further proceeding. *J.M.* to *R.M.*

6. If they find him fit, (according to the fitnesse mentioned CHAP. 3.) then they propound the man and his motion to the Church; who are then desired to inquire further of him for their better satisfaction. And if any of them doe or shall (by such inquirie) know any thing justly to hinder his admission, to declare it before he be admitted. *J.W.* to *T.S.* *E.C.* to *R.C.*

7. After this a day is appointed (usually on the Sabboth) and when other publike worship is ended, the said party is called forth; and there makes a publike Profession of his Faith, and declareth the manner of his conversion; which (by such as can) is done in a continued speech of their own; by others (not so well able) in making answers to questions propounded to them concerning the same. *Apol.* p. 3, 4. which with if any of the companie be not satisfied, his admission is stayed for the time, till all things be cleared, and all objections answered. And then by consent of the Church, he enters into Church-covenant with them, and so is admitted in the same manner as the rest were at the first constitution of the Church. *R.M.* to *W.R.* | *H.W.* to Mr *B.* | *E.C.* to *R.C.* *J.M.* to *R.M.* | *J.W.* to *T.S.*

8. After the party is so admitted, the Minister or some one or more of the members of that Church, in name of the rest, do give him the right hand of fellowship; and do likewise

8 If the party be a woman, or otherwise weake in expression, some tell us, that the body of the Church meets more privately in the week day, to receive satisfaction touching them. *E.C.* to *R.C.* But if all the Church meet there, how is it more private? If but some only, how shall the rest (by their consent) judicially consent to that which they doe not know? And for delegation or representation they will by no meanes allow these. Sometimes they say their confessions are taken privately by the examiners, and by them only related in publike to the Church, and so their owne publike professions and declarations are stifled, as Master *H.* to *S.A.* intimates. But how doth this agree with the Apostles rule, *Doe nothing partially*, 1 *Tim.* 5. 21. If it be needfull that all the Church heare one man relate his confession, why should they not heare it? And if the examiners may be trusted with examining of some, why not of all the rest also?

wise repromise to performe all Church duties to him, contained in the same covenant, as unto the rest of her members, *saith M. to T. S.*

9. Thus for admission of persons of age. Now for infants they account them in the same estate with their next parents: For if either of their next naturall parents be now, or (being deceased) died a member of some such particular societie, as aforesaid, then are their children also accounted members, and so baptized, if they were not baptized before. But if neither of them have been, or having been formerly, if at the present (being alive) neither of them be a member; then their infants (as themselves) are accounted to be without the visible Church. In the same estate with the children of Turkes and Heathens, Aliens from the Commonwealth of Israel, and so uncapable of Baptisme, or any other Church privileage whatsoever: yea, though the Grandfather be a member or (perhaps) a Minister of that Church, or though one or more of the next parents being no members be eminently and famously Godly, and will undertake to educate their children in the true faith and Feare of God; And neither wilfully, nor negligently omit to joyne themselves to such a Church, but abstaine only out of want of fit opportunitie to doe it, or out of tenderness of Conscience, as scrupling some things in their way, yet for all this, their infants shall not be admitted to Baptisme, as not being within but without the Church. *Mr. M. Anſ. to 9. Pro. 61, 62, 63, &c. Anſ. to 32. q. p. 29, 2. in Apol. p. 29.*

h Cold comfort to Christian parents (not of their way) and cold christs, to their infants.

CHAP. VIII.

Of their dismissing of members from one Church to another, or otherwise.

NO person once thus admitted (as aforesaid) into any of their Churches, ought to remove thence without the consent of the said Church first sought and obtained. For if he doe, they hold that he breaks covenant with God and the

the Church, and like *Ananias* and *Sapphira* lies against the Holy Ghost. *Answ to 9. Pos. p. 73. Apol. p. 39. R. M. to E. B. p. 6.* Inasmuch as they conceive their covenant binds them not to depart without consent. *Ibid.*

2. Therefore when any would remove, they require that he first give notice thereof to the [i] Church, wherewith he is in covenant, and lay before them (how many soever they be) in a publike meeting both his reasons for which he desires to remove, and also to what other Church he would remove, and consult with them about both. *Answ. to 9. Pos. p. 74. Apol. p. 20.*

[i] Why must he needs consult with this rather then any other? perhaps this may be more partiall then any other, because concerned more. No man so fit to be judge in his own cause. But if with this Church, why with the whole Church? why not rather with some few of the more secret and discreet persons, that know both how to give counsell, and to keep counsell? what if his reasons be secret, and he cannot discover them but to his shame, losse or danger?

3. If upon examination, they approve both of his reasons why, and of the place whither he would goe, then they consent, and giving him letters of dismission and recommendation to that other Church, they send him away with their prayers and blessing. *Ibid.*

4. If contrarily they approve not, either the one or the other, they dissuade him from his purpose, if they prevaile not, they will not hold him by violence, (for that they cannot, yet they will neither give their [k] consent, nor give him their letters of recommendation (though he were otherwise never so well deserving) nor send him away with their benediction, as otherwise they would. *Ibid.* Yea, he shall depart little better then an excommunicate, as a Covenant-breaker with God and man, and as one that is wise in his own conceit, and refuseth to hearken to counsell. *Ibid.*

[k] If this be so, as the Disciples said of marriage, It is not good to touch this Covenant: A man may soon enter into this bond, but he cannot so soon get free again. These are hard conditions: He must discover all to a multitude (many of which are no wiser then they should be) who are to be a judge in their own cause; and who can assure him of their judicious and unpartiall dealing? It may be (though his reasons be never so sufficient yet) they will not consent to his departure. And if he depart without consent, he goes not only not commended, but tacitely accused, slandered: not only not blest, but virtually cast out and curst; and to make up his misery, (if all Churches were of their way,) for ever made uncapable of admission into any other Church; and so necessitated to live (he and his) all their dayes as an heathen and publican without the pale of the Church. There being (as it seemes) a tacite agreement amongst them to receive no members from one Church to another, unless they bring with them letters of dismission and recommendation. Yea, a man that removes en-

tred into this way, is so rivetted in it, that he can hardly ever get out of it; but in a sort, is necessitated to continue therein, though perhaps against his conscience. Seeing depart he cannot (with leave) unlesse they approve of the Church to which he would goe, as well as of the reasons why. Now they will not approve of any Church that differs from themselves in Church constitution, discipline and government. Therefore he must either continue where he is, or remove to some other Church of the same way, or live out of Church estate like an heathen, as aforesaid. The best of all which choises may prove bad enough. This so strict and hard tying of men together (unlesse it can be proved to be an ordinance of God) must needs be an intolerable burden, pressing and pinching men not only in their estates, names and comforts, but also in their consciences too. Sometimes causing sharpe contests and contentions with, yea, perhaps deadly hatred of such with whom they are so forced to continue in societie against their minds, or wils, at least. And sometimes violent rents and ruptures, when they are feigne to breake away from them by violence, by whom with good leave they cannot be dismist. When I consider these strict tyings of people to their owne members and officers, I cannot but pitie the good people of this Kingdome, especially of this Citie, if the *New England* Discipline and Government should take place, (as many of them do desire.) For how will they indure to be so tyed, who have so long time accustomed to keep with no societie, but to picke and choose, now one and then another, every Sabbath almost a new Ministerie and a new Church; yea, tenaciously hold it as a Maxime, That they will be bound to none; That they may lawfully goe where they like best, and where they can profit most, &c

Chap. IX.

Of Church-Communion in generall, wherein it consists, to whom it doth belong, of corruptions in it, and separation from it.

1. They solicitously distinguish betweene Church-communion, and Christian or religious communion. This latter they hold generally with all whom they conceive to be true Christians, without reference to their Church estate, and whether they be in Church estate or no: therefore they will conferre, pray with them, &c. [1] But the former they hold onely with such as they acknowledge to be true Chur-

[1] If by Church were to be meant only such a particular body as is before by them defined, the distinction might the rather passe. But forasmuch as the word Church in Scripture sometimes extends it selfe to all, or any beleevers on the face of the earth, without respect had to any such congregationall union, therefore Church communion will and may extend it selfe to all communion with visible beleevers in all religious duties whatsoever. For as there is a persecution of the Church, *Gal.* 1.13. Prayers of the Church, *Act.* 12.5. and a communion of Saints without such a respect, so a communion of the Church in all religious duties, without such a respect.

ches, and with their Church-members. *Anſ.* to 9. *Poſ.* p. 62, 63. *Apol.* p. 28, 34.

Robinſ. hath a diſtinction not much unlike, of private and publike communion, that he allowes with all Chriſtians, this only with Church-members; concerning which ſee his whole treatiſe of publike and private communion.

2. They call that Church communion which is only in ſuch duties, priviledges and ordinances as are proper to ſuch a particular ſocietie, and belong to none other, as 1. Admiſſion of members into their ſocietie, 2. Mutuall watchfulneſſe of each member over other. 3. Admonition in way to cenſure. 4. Excommunication. 5. Re-acception into ſocietie again upon repentance. 6. Adminiſtration, and receiving of the ſeales. 7. Vocation of Miniſters and all other officers, and depoſing of them again. *Anſ.* to 9. *Poſ.* p. 63. *Anſ.* to 32. q. p. 7. *Apol.* p. 27-29.

3. As for [m] preaching, reading and hearing the word, catechiſing, praying, ſinging of Pſalmes, bleſſing the people, &c. though performed by Church officers and members onely, and in the Church Aſſembly onely, yet in theſe, they hold, there is no Church communion at all. *Anſ.* to 32. q. p. 7, 28. *Anſ.* to 9. *Poſ.* p. 62. *Apol.* p. 26, 34.

Rob. juſtif. p. 192, 195.

[m] Here we may ſee how much and how long we have been miſtaken: For when our brethren of that way doe ſo frequently (perhaps fixedly) preach and pray with us not only privately in houſes, but in our publike aſſemblies alſo, we (fooles) thinke all this while, they hold Church communion with us, and do thereby actually own our Miniſterie and Church eſtate as true. But, alas, there is no ſuch matter. It is but Chriſtian communion at the beſt, neither doe they at all preach unto us, or pray with us, as Miniſters *ex officio*, much leſſe as our Miniſters; No they will not confeſſe themſelves to be ſo much as members of our Churches: but *ex dono*, only as men well gifted, and ſo able to edifie the church by their gifts, as meere private men, *ex communi officio charitatis*, as any man elſe may doe that hath a gift to ſpeake to the churches edification. Nay, what doe they more to us in publike then they would do to ſo many Turks or Indians, to whom they would preach, and with and for whom they would pray (I beleeve) as well as they do unto and with, and for us. If they judged any Church communion to conſiſt in any of theſe things they could (following their own principles) no more joyn with us in preaching and prayer, then now they doe in Sacraments. The like is to be thought of their hearing of our Miniſters alſo.

4. Theſe things, ſay they, doe not onely belong to Church Communion, but to the Communion of this [n] particular

[p] particular Church onely, of which one is stated a member; and therefore are to be performed onely to the members thereof, and not to the members of other Churches, much lesse to any such as are not at all in Church estate. *Ans.* to 32. *q.p.* 11.

5. Especially Sacraments are to be administred (as onely by Ministers of the same Churches as after so) onely to Church [q] members, and [r] members of the same Church. *Ans.* to 9. *Pos.p.*62,63,64,66,70. *Ans.* to 32. *q.p.*11,12,37. *Apol.p.*29,30,39,40,41. *Cert. cat. p.*637. *R. M.* to *E. B.* *p.*45,6. | *E. M.* to *W. R.*

[p] How doth this agree with that which followes after of administring and receiving of Sacraments in other Churches by vertue of the communion of churches.

[q] How is it then that they acknowledge *Ans.* to 9. *Pos.p.*63,64. *Apol.p.* 6,7,21,40. that scattred members

of Christ may partake of the Sacraments as members of the Catholique Church. Also that Sacraments do rightfully belong to all visible beleevers and their seed, as such, if so be there were any Ministers now that might lawfully administer the same unto them, viz. such as were the Apostles and Evangelists. And that the reason why they cannot now actually partake therein, is because now ordinary Ministers power extends not beyond the bounds of their own church. Whence I inferre, 1. that then church-membership is not necessarie to participation of the Sacraments, of it selfe, but by accident only. 2. that beleevers are not uncapable of Sacraments (by their own tenent) through any defect in themselves, but in the ministerie, (that I say not, in God) they indeed are capable of them, but God hath provided no ministerie to administer the same to the, I mean, to scattred Saints. 3. That participation of Sacraments is no part of church communion, since of right it belongs as well to all visible beleevers, as such, though they be no church members at all. 4. That Baptisme is not given onely to a Church body. 5. That it was not intended as a seale of the Church-covenant. All which are contrary to their tenents. [r] Here also they seeme as before not constant to themselves, who after tell us that by communion of Churches the Minister of one Church may administer the Sacraments to the members of another Church: why not then to such as are members of no Church also (being beleevers) seeing the Apostles did so: and seeing ordinary Ministers have as much power over such as are no members, as over the members of another Church, both being without the Church to them.

6. They hold that if any sinne be committed by any in the Church, for want of watchfulnesse, and admonition in others, all the body is defiled therewith, and made liable to a common judgement, as was all Israel by *Achans* sinne. *Ans.* to 32. *q.p.*50. *Ans.* to 9. *Pos.p.*75. *Discourse of Gov.* *p.*7. *Apol.p.*10.

7. That a man that is *sui juris*, may not lawfully stand member of such a Church, in which he cannot observe and enjoy all Gods ordinances, nor where any [s] corruption in Gods worship, or other sinne is suffered unreformed, but if

[s] Who then may stand members of their Churches? or will they say that there are no corruptions amongst

them ſuffered? doubtleſſe if other Churches may be judges, (not themſelves who are parties) they are

he be joyned to it, he muſt ſeparate from it, elſe he is defiled therewith. *Anſ.* to 32.*q.p.*32,33.

*Rob. juſtif. p.*15,16,197,200,201. *Johnſ.*plea,*p.* 245. *Barr.diſcov.p.*26,29,34,38.

faulty one way, as well as others are another way. It may be alſo as hard to reduce as others are.

r Yet themſelves allow ſet formes of Pſalmes to be ſung as Prayers and Praiſes to God, and of benedictions or bleſſing the people, of church covenan (as before) ſome of them

8. Eſpecially where any ſet Leitourgy, or r ſet forme of prayer is impoſed to be uſed. *Anſ.* to 9.*Poſ.p.* 52,59,60,61. Mr *M.*to *J.M. Corr.cat.p.*5,6. | *R.M.*to *E.B.p.*7.

*Johnſ.*plea,*p.*245,285. *Brown.*confeſſ.art.45. *Cannes* neceſſ. of ſeparation, p. 110. *Rob. juſtif.*p.344.

alſo ſet formes of catechiſing, and confeſſions of Faith, as *H. P. J. C.* his Catechiſme of the Church. So *Robinſons* cat. of Diſcipline, added to the end of *Perkins* cat. Why then not a ſet forme of Prayer too? whereas they diſlike ſet formes becauſe impoſed: I cannot ſee how bare impoſition by lawfull authoritie of that which is lawfull (ſo far onely as it is lawfull) ſhould make it unlawfull, I ſhould rather thinke it ſhould make it neceſſarie: And whereas they inculcate that our ſet formes have been ſo impoſed as leave no libertie of adding, altering or taking any thing away: I anſwer, we have no ſuch impoſition among us, ſeeing all experience hath ſhewed that any man might lawfully adde, what he would, though by the law, he might not, perhaps, take away or alter ought: But ſuppoſing the worſt that our ſet formes were ſo rigidly impoſed by law, that no man might adde to, or alter, or take away ought, yet if Miniſters did both adde to what they thought defective, and alter what was offenſive, and leave out what they judged unlawfull; I ſee no reaſon why the fault of the impoſers ſhould be imputed to ſuch as obeyed their impoſition no further then it was faultleſſe.

ſ If they will walke cloſe to their owne principles, they muſt grant that not onely open and groſſe wicked defile the worſhip of God to all the ſocietie, but alſo unregenerate perſons, and all that give not good evidence of their converſion, yea, even ſecret ſinners alſo (ſuch as *Achan* was) though perhaps they have the truth of grace, if they be admitted. Of which ſee before Art. 6. But then who ſhall eſcape free? or with what ſocietie can a man joyne to be aſſured not to be defiled?

9. And where ſ bad men are ſuffred to come to the Sacraments with the good, becauſe thereby both the ordinances, and all that partake in them are defiled. *Apol.p.*37. *J. D.* to *L.H.*

*Barr. diſcov.*p.34.*Rob.juſtif.*p.15,197,201,204.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Of the Communion of Churches one with another, and of ſeparation from corrupt Churches.

1. THey grant that ſeverall Churches have a [t] Communion amongſt themſelves, whereby they do and may [u] mutually partake each with other in ſome Church-ordinances,* as Sacraments. And that this Communion is both between the Miniſters and members of the ſame. *Anſ.* to 9. *Poſ.*p.62,78. *Anſ.*to 32.*q.p.*29. *Apol.p.*2,13. | *R.M.* to *E.B.*p.11.

[t] If there be a communion of Churches, then an union, whereby many therefore may be rightly called one. And if an union of many Churches without Covenant, why not alſo of many members in the ſame Church without covenant. * How can this ſtand with their doctrine of the covenant before, which tyeth the members to church dmies only to their own Church? and that Sacraments belong onely to the members of their owne Church: and with their doctrine following that Miniſters are Miniſters only to their own people, and cannot doe a miniſteriall act to any but ſuch as by calling them, have given them power over them, which ſome of themſelves perceiving, rather then part with this latter (which they hugge as a precious truth) are content to queſtion the former of the communion of Churches, as *S. E.* * If this may be done in Sacraments (by vertue of Church communion) why not in Ordination and Excommunication alſo?

2. By vertue of this Church communion, they ſay; one Church by letters of recommendation may give power to another Church over any of her members for Excommunication, and the [x] Miniſters of one Church may convey power to the Miniſters of another Church for Adminiſtration of the Sacraments to any of their members. *Cott. cat.* p.7. *Apol.*p.2,14,26,40. | *T.W.* to *T.S.* Hence the infants of ſome of *Windſor* Church in *N.E.* have been baptized by the Miniſters of the Church of *Dorcheſter* there. *R.M.* to *W.R.*

[x] This Divinitie is ſtrange to me: Themſelves hold the Miniſters power is not his own, but conceredited to him by the church, ſo that he is but a Deputie himſelf, *& deputata non poteſt deputare.* How then ſhould he derive his authoritie to another, and convey his power over to him, as his deputie, who himſelfe is but the Churches deputie?

3. But without ſuch letters of recommendations, and formall granting over of ſuch power, from one Church and Miniſter to another, it were [y] unlawfull in any caſe to admi-

[y] They are very tender of loſing any of their members, and of having them but to communicate for a time with any other churches but their own: but they make no bones of getting all the members they can from our Miniſters and Churches, belike we have neither true Miniſters nor Churches, and therefore they may doe with us what they liſt.

niſter any Church ordinance to any Church or members but their owne, or to admit them to any Church communion upon any pretence whatſoever. *Apol.* p. 14, 26, 40.

4. Though they hold it lawfull by this Communion of Churches for one Church to admit the members of another unto fellowſhip of Church ordinances and priviledges; yet not of every Church. But they thinke themſelves bound to know the Church well (whoſe members they ſo admit, as well as the members themſelves) whether it bee a true Church or a falſe, a pure Church, or a corrupt. *Anſ.* to 32. q. p. 29.

5. And that if they ſhould admit any members of a falſe Church, they ſhould offend in ſo holding communion with a falſe Church; yea, if they ſhould admit any members of a corrupt Church, they ſhould be defiled by ſuch communion; unleſſe they did firſt proteſt againſt their corruptions. *Anſ.* to 32, q. p. 29. | *J. C.* printed letter, p. 12. yet they hold no ſuch [a] defilement by admitting them unto religious communion, though their Church were not only impure, but utterly falſe.

6. They are very ſtraight-laced in denying communion to the members of other Churches that are not [b] conſtituted and governed in the ſame manner with their owne, which only they conceive to be conſtituted and governed according to the Rule of Chriſt. *Anſ.* to 32. q. p. 82, 83, 84. yea, if a companie of approved godly people ſhould ſit downe neer them (where their power reacheth) differing from them onely in ſome points of Church-Government, ſome of them tell us, that not only they ſhould not be [b] owned as a ſiſter Church, but ſhould alſo be in danger of

[a] What ground for this diſtinction, of defilement by Church communion, and no defilement by religious communion?

[b] This is one cauſe and the chief, why our moſt godly *Engliſh* going over thither are yet rejected from all Church communion there: Not becauſe of any perſonall defect, but becauſe of the reputed corrupt eſtate of our Churches, whereof they ſtand, or lately did ſtand as members.

[b] If upon ſuch ſmaller differences they be ſo ſevere, how much more would they be in greater? Some of their partie here pleaded hard to be inclined to ſee differences, yet what thoſe are we may not know, or whether they be leſſer or greater, tolerable in a Church or not, and if they be not hearkned unto, they are apt to cry out, Perſecution, perſecution: yet when others deſire the like favour of them, they tell us there is no favour to be expected if we perſiſt to breake any Rule of Chriſt, their meaning is, if we follow them not cloſe in their wayes. So partiall and falſe are ſome men, that they thinke all ſeverity to others too little, to themſelves too much.

ſevere

severe punishment by the civill Magistrate. *H.W.* to *P.H.* *What they hold of our English Churches and Ministers see in the Postscript.*

CHAP. XI.

Of Excommunication and Re-acception into Church-fellowship again upon repentance.

N. I find little difference herein betweene them and others of the reformed Religion, more then what is above touched, save that

1. I Heare some of them have prest that not only the scandalous, but also the [f] non-proficients, that grow not in grace under the meanes, might be excommunicated; Which was the ground (as some of them report) of a groundlesse course set on foot amongst them at *Cambridge* in *N. Engl.* *That the people met together privately at certain times, weekly or fortnightly, each one to hold forth unto the rest the Work of God upon his or her soul, from their first conversion unto that present day, that so their Pastour might know how they grew in grace.* A.W. to M^r B.

[f] And no marvell. For if none must be of the Church but reall Saints, such as have truth of grace, which they cannot have that do not in some proportiõ grow in grace, therfore it must needs follow that such should be cast out. And by the same reason cut with all that doe not convincingly shew all such evidences of grace, as Divines (from Scripture) do lay down as demonstrations of grace in men. But if we closely hold to this way of triall of the members of true visible Churches, we may well make Churches (as the Brownists) consisting of 2. or 3. or perhaps (as our N.E. brethren) of 7, 8, or 9. members, but we shall rarely (if ever) meet with such numerous Churches as the Scriptures hold forth, and therefore such as all Churches ought to be, as neare as may be.

CHAP. XII.

Of Church officers, their office, manner of calling, their power, maintainance, and the dis-officing or deposing of them again.

1. WHen a Church by admission of more members, is now grown to a competent number (which oft-times

niſter any Church ordinance to any Church or members but their owne, or to admit them to any Church communion upon any pretence whatſoever. *Apol.* p. 14, 26, 40.

4. Though they hold it lawfull by this Communion of Churches for one Church to admit the members of another unto fellowſhip of Church ordinances and priviledges; yet not of every Church. But they thinke themſelves bound to know the Church well (whoſe members they ſo admit, as well as the members themſelves) whether it bee a true Church or a falſe, a pure Church, or a corrupt. *Anſ.* to 32. *q.* p. 29.

5. And that if they ſhould admit any members of a falſe Church, they ſhould offend in ſo holding communion with a falſe Church; yea, if they ſhould admit any members of a corrupt Church, they ſhould be defiled by ſuch communion; unleſſe they did firſt proteſt againſt their corruptions. *Anſ.* to 32. *q.* p. 29. *J. C.* printed letter, p. 12. yet they hold no ſuch [a] defilement by admitting them unto religious communion, though their Church were not only impure, but utterly falſe.

6. They are very ſtraight-laced in denying communion to the members of other Churches that are not [b] conſtituted and governed in the ſame manner with their own, which only they conceive to be conſtituted and governed according to the Rule of Chriſt. *Anſ.* to 32. *q.* p. 82, 83, 84. yea, if a companie of approved godly people ſhould ſit downe neer them (where their power reacheth) differing from them onely in ſome points of Church-Government, ſome of them tell us; that not only they ſhould not be owned as a ſiſter Church, but ſhould alſo be in danger of

[a] What ground for this diſtinction, of defilement by Church communion, and no defilement by religious communion?

[b] This is one cauſe and the chief, why our moſt godly *Engliſh* going over thither are yet rejected from all Church communion there: Not becauſe of any perſonall defect, but becauſe of the reputed corrupt eſtate of our Churches, whereof they ſtand, or lately did ſtand as members. [b] If upon ſuch ſmaller differences they be ſo ſevere, how much more would they be in greater? Some of their partie here pleaded hard to be indulged in leſſer differences, yet what thoſe are we may not know, or whether they be leſſer or greater; tolerable in a Church or not, and if they be not hearkned unto, they are apt to cry out, Perſecution, perſecution: yet when others deſire the like favour of them, they tell us there is no favour to be expected if we perſiſt to breake any Rule of Chriſt, their meaning is, if we follow them not cloſe in their wayes. So partiall and fooliſh are ſome men, that they thinke all ſeverity to others too little, to themſelves too much.

ſevere

ſevere punishment by the civill Magistrate. *H.W.* to *P.H.*
What they hold of our Engliſh Churches and Miniſters ſee in the Poſtſcript.

CHAP. XI.

Of Excommunication and Re-acception into Church-fellowſhip again upon repentance.

N. I find little difference herein betweene them and others of the reformed Religion, more then what is above touched, ſave that

A. I Heare ſome of them have preſt that not only the ſcandalous, but alſo the [f] non-proficients, that grow not in grace under the meanes, might be excommunicated; Which was the ground (as ſome of them report) of a groundleſſe courſe ſet on foot amongſt them at *Cambridge* in *N. Engl.* *That the people met together privately at certain times, weekly or fortnightly, each one to hold forth unto the reſt the Work of God upon his or her ſoul, from their firſt converſion unto that preſent day, that ſo their Paſtour might know how they grew in grace.* A.W. to Mr B.

[f] And no marvell. For if none muſt be of the Church but reall Saints, ſuch as have truth of grace, which they cannot have that do not in ſome proportiõ grow in grace, therfore it muſt needs follow that ſuch ſhould be caſt out. And by the ſame reaſon cut with all that doe not convincingly ſhew all ſuch evidences of grace, as Divines (from Scripture) do lay down as demonſtrations of grace in men. But if we cloſely hold to this way of triall of the members of true viſible Churches, we may well make Churches (as the Browniſts) conſiſting of 2. or 3. or perhaps (as our N.E. brethren) of 7, 8, or 9. members, but we ſhall rarely (if ever) meet with ſuch numerous Churches as the Scriptures hold forth, and therefore ſuch as all Churches ought to be, as neare as may be.

CHAP. XII.

Of Church officers, their office, manner of calling, their power, maintainance, and the diſ-officing or depoſing of them again.

A. WHen a Church by admiſſion of more members, is now grown to a competent number (which oft-times

times proves ſome 5 yeares firſt) then they addreſſe themſelves to the calling of ſome to the Miniſtery, and other offices in the Church. *R.M.* to *W.R.*

[g] No wonder it is long firſt, what for want of ſuch choice members as they ſeek, and what for want of choice Miniſters: for they tell us to our comfort that many that were counted good Miniſters in old *Eng.* are there laid aſide, becauſe the Churches there doe aime at men of ſpeciall abilities.

2. If any of their own members be fit for the ſervice, they make choice of them. If not, they procure elſewhere. Yet ſo that none is choſen to be an officer in any Church, till he be firſt formally admitted [h] member of the ſame Church, in the ſame manner every way, as others have beene. *H.W.* to M[r] *B.*

[h] Church membership is the ſalt that ſeaſons all things. 'Its ſtrange that his membership in the Church whence he laſt came (by communion of Churches) can ſtand him in no ſtead.

3. The ſeverall Churches with them, (how ſmall ſoever, and though as yet without any officers) doe challenge to themſelves both power and execution of all things whatſoever do belong to the calling and creating of their own officers, as, 1. To [i] examine and try their abilities and fitneſſe. 2. To elect them. 3. To inſtruct them in their office, at their ordination. 4. To ordaine them with impoſition of hands, prayers, and charges given them. And in ſumme, to give them all the power of their office in that Church in the name of Chriſt. *Anſ.* to 32. *q.* p.40,41,42,68,71. *Diſcourſe of Cov.* p.23. | *Anſ.* to 9. *Poſ.* p.70,77. *R.M.* to *W.R.* | *H.W.* to M[r] *B.*

[i] What abilities moſt good men have in judging of Miniſters, as reaſon ſo their own experience will tell them, when as (if I be rightly informed) all the members of the Church of *Boſton* (ſome few excepted) did ſtrongly ſtickle to have had M[r] *Wheelwright* (that famous Familiſt) joyned as co teacher with Maſter *C.* in that Church. Alſo ſee *Apol. Narr.* p.24.

Rob. juſtif. p.300,303. *Cannes* Neceſs. of ſepar. p.29. *Barr. refut. of Giff.* p.130. *A light for the ſign.* p.7. *Rob. Apology.*

4. Whereby it is come to paſſe, that every of their firſt Miniſters (at leaſt) in every of their Churches, is ordained by one or more [k] private men, appointed by the reſt, in their names to pray over them, impoſe hands upon them, inſtruct, charge them, and give them authoritie there to miniſter:

[k] Have not wee as much cauſe to doubt of the truth of their miniſterie, as they of ours, they being made by meere private men (*i.e.*) not in any office, ours by Presbyters at leaſt, and therein according to the Apoſtles rule, 1 *Tim.* 4. 14. ſeeing the Biſhops themſelves were Presbyters, with whom were other Presbyters ever joyned in Ordination of any: Beſides, the choice and approbation of many of our people alſo: whether they or we come neerer to the Rule, let the Reader judge.

The

The act being the act of the whole Church, but for order, and ease sake, the formalitie is committed to one or two, in name of the rest: [1] As the Israelites laid hands on the Levites, *Numb.*8.10. | *J. M.* to *R. M.* | *Ans.* to 32. *q. p.* 68, 69, 70. *R. M.* to *E. B.* p.10.

Rob. justif. p. 328, 331, 338.

[1] The Levites election was from God immediately, and their Ordination by the Priest by Gods appointment, *Numb.* 8. 11, 13, 14. The peoples laying on of their hands in this work was not authoritative, that were needlesse, when God had authorised them both immediately by himselfe and mediately by the Priest before, if not presumptuous, that they should interpose their authoritie, when God himselfe had established them by his. But either it was obedientiall only, to declare their approbation of Gods choice and Ordination, and then it is nothing to our brethrens authoritative imposition of the peoples hands. Or rather (as I conceive) for the same end for which they were commanded to lay hands on the head of the sacrifice to be offred (as *vers.* 12.) viz. to signifie that they, i.e. their first born by right were all the Lords, and did owe so be, but that God of his goodnesse was now pleased to accept of the Levites for them, *vers.*16.

5. They hold that the peoples [m] Election is not onely essentiall unto, but also the whole substance of the calling of the Minister, or other officer. But as for Ordination with imposition of hands of the Presbyterie, or other signe, they hold it not essentiall at all, but a meere formalitie, or solemnitie of the calling; the presence whereof addeth nothing to the substance of the calling, and the absence thereof takes nothing from it. *Ans.* to 32. *q. p.* 67, 68, 69. *Discourse of Cov. p.*23. | *R. M.* to *E. B.* p.16. *Apol.* p.24.

Rob. justif. p. 308, 332, 333, 334, 335. *Rob. Apol.* p. *Per electionem jus ministerii Presbyteris confertur, &c. Barr. refut. of Giff.* p.219, 130.

[m] By this reason (me thinks) all that are elected by the people to a constant exercise of the chiefe duue of the Pastours office (which is preaching of the Word) and do also by compact receive the tithes and wages due by law to the Pastour, should be the Pastours of the places where by the peoples choice they doe so preach, and by consequent many of our brethren of that way, here in *London*, and *England*, should be Pastours of many of our Parish Churches. But doe they count themselves so? or do they carry themselves so?

6. After the first officers are thus made by the Church, the formalitie of ordaining the rest, is ordinarily committed to such [n] officers as are alreadie called and ordained, not as having any more power (by vertue of their office) to doe it, then before; for the power is the Churches, and belongs equally to every member, as a member; but as being the

[n] So that if they have but one Pastour or Teacher he alone lays hand on the next officer to be ordained: But St *Pauls* rule for Ordination is, that it should bee done by the hands of the Presbyterie, not of one single Presbyter, much lesse of one private man.

Churches publike ſervants, to doe it for them, and in their name and ſtead. See the quotations cited before *Art.* 4. *Rob. juſtif.* p. 321, 323, 327.

7. In the ſorts or kinds of their officers, they agree with others of the beſt reformed Churches. ° Onely whereas in opinion and tenent they preciſely diſtinguiſh between the Paſtors and Teachers office, yet in practiſe they uſually confound them: both Paſtour and Teacher equally teaching and equally applying both the Word and Seales without any difference. And either of them uſually ſupplying the place of both in divers of their Churches, which are not furniſhed with both. See *J. C.* his Sermons on *Revel.* and other texts, for proof of this: Beſides what we have by others report.

° I will not impute to the generall that private opinion (but too publikely here) by ſome of them vented: that the Paſtor is only to feed the people with wholeſome doctrine, the ruling Elders onely to viſit them, and ſee to their manners.

8. They hold the officers ſo called and made by this Church, are officers onely in and unto this particular Church, that hath ſo called them. And bound onely to miniſter to that, and the members thereof, and to none other. So that the Paſtors and Teachers thereof may lawfully doe no ? miniſteriall act whatſoever in or unto any other Church or the members thereof, then their own. *Anſ.* to 32. q. p. 11, 15, 70. *Anſ.* to 9. *Poſ.* p. 64, 67, 70, 76, 78. *Apol.* p. 14, 26, 29, 38. *Rob. juſtif.* p. 317, 318, 335.

? Yet their Miniſters frequently adminiſter the Sacraments to the members of other Churches then their own: They will anſwer, that is done by vertue of the communion of Churches. I reply, But this latter rule quite overthroweth the former and all the reaſons they bring for it, which ſome perceiving, queſtion this rule of communion of Churches, others to maintain the former have invented a power in every particular Church and Miniſter to transfer their own power over to another Church and Miniſter *pro tempore*, to adminiſter the Seales, (yea, and cenſures too) to any of their members, ſo that tranſlation be formally done, as before *Chap.* 10. If there can be no act valid where there is no power: Whether miniſteriall acts done by a miniſter in and unto another Church be not null and voide, which if they be, then have we millions of perſons of age unbaptized to this very day.

9. They grant indeed that Miniſters may preach unto, and pray with other Churches and their members, becauſe theſe are properly no miniſteriall acts. Onely the adminiſtration of the ? Sacraments (with them) are properly miniſteriall,

? Preaching and Baptizing were wont to be joyned together, *Matth.* 28. And the Word and Prayer to be counted chiefe imployments of the Miniſters, *Act.* 6. yea, Preaching rather then Sacraments, 1 *Cor.* 1. But it is the nature of popular government to incroach upon all or moſt of the rights of the miniſterie, which muſt either have nothing to doe, or but what the people will allow them, and lend them their power for to doe. Alas poore Miniſters, it ſeemes it is their deſtinie ever to be ſervants (if good) yea ſlaves and foot-ſtools. Hitherto they have been trodden under foot by the Prelates, and now they muſt be by their people!

niſteriall, and therefore belong onely to the Miniſters. All other acts are common to other members, either by vertue of their gifts, and *ex communi officio charitatis*, or by the power of the Keyes, which they have received in common with that Church of which they are members, or by a temporarie deputation from the ſame. *Anſ.* to 9. *Poſ.* p. 78.

Rob. juſtif. p. 195.

10. They hold that a Miniſters calling lives and dyes with his union unto and diſuniting from that particular Church wherein and whereby he was ſo called, as before. So that if a Miniſter lawfully choſen and ordained in one place, ſhall remove (upon never ſo juſt and neceſſary grounds) to another Congregation: He is thereby diveſted of his former Miniſterie, and now become as a meere private man again, unleſſe and untill he ſhall be called and ſo created again by the ſame or ſome other Congregation. In which caſe he is not only to be elected anew, but alſo to be ordained anew, by the impoſition of the hands (perhaps of ſome meere private man or men) as if he had never been ordained before. And ſo *toties quoties*. *Anſ.* to 32. *q. p.* 69, 70. *Anſ.* to 9. *Poſ.* p. 67, 77. *J. W.* anſ. to 10. *queſt.*

Rob. juſtif. p. 317.

11. They hold the Miniſters are but the Churches ſervants, her mouth by whom ſhe ſpeakes, and hands whereby ſhe acts. And therefore though they meet together to conſult of matters for the good of the Churches, or to prepare matters for the Churches hearing; yet in point of Government they can [r] decree, act, or execute [s] nothing but what the Church doth dictate and direct. *Anſ.* to 32. *q. p.* 57.

Rob. Apol. p. 49. Sions royall Prerog. *p.* 26, 20.

r Yet Mr P. tels us that the Miniſters have there agreed amongſt themſelves that none of them ſhall preach any doctrine that is not commonly received amongſt them, till he have firſt communicated it with the reſt of the Miniſters: And what's this but in effect a compound Presbyterie ruling without peoples votes, and alſo a Canon made by common conſent and impoſed: both contrary to their own principles.

s They call them rulers, and tell us they have great power of Government, but ſhew us nothing that they may doe (except Adminiſtration of Sacraments) which others may not as lawfully doe as they: unleſſe they will ſay (as *Rob juſtif. p.* 116.) that Miniſters rule conſiſts in ſerving the Church, and the people obey their Miniſters in uſing their ſervice; which is moſt abſurd in reaſon and contradictious to it ſelf.

12. Miniſters (they hold) are onely Miniſters of Churches already gathered, which are all ſuppoſed to be already reall Saints, effectually called. So that the end and work of the office of Miniſters and their Miniſterie, is onely the confirmation and building up of men already converted and inchurched. Nor are they bound by vertue of their office to attend unto the work of [t] converting ſoules, any more then other gifted brethren are, who owe it by the office of common charitie. *Anſ.* to 32. *q.p.* 80, 82.

Rob. juſtif. p. 308, 11, 47.

whence it muſt needs follow that either none are converted in their Churches by their miniſterie, or elſe if any be, that fals out only accidentally, not as the direct end of their office, and Gods Ordinance.

t Thus the Converſion of ſinners which is the crowne of Miniſters Calling, 1 *Cor.* 4. 15. 1 *Theſ.* 2. *ult.* is pulled off their heads, and put on the head of every gifted brother, and why not ſiſter too? ſince ſuch may poſſibly convert alſo: and if they may convert, belike they may confirme as well, and ſo they may take all; For what then hath the Miniſter left him to doe by office? But if this were ſo it would follow, 1. That a Miniſter of a Church need not by office preach ſome Doctrines, viz. the Doctrines of the beginnings of Chriſt, at leaſt not in ſome manner of teaching them: whereto as is thought have held that the Miniſter is to apply himſelfe in all his Sermons to the members, and not to them that are without: the reſt of the members are to doe that in their prophecying. N. R. 2. That Miniſters being fixed to particular charges, to which they owe themſelves, and all that they can poſſibly doe, are thereby bound out from labouring in the worke of converſion of others at all: it being both without the compaſſe of their calling (by this doctrine) and beyond the poſſibilitie of their power to do. 3. And therefore that either men unconverted muſt ſo continue, and periſh in their ſins, for want of ſome body to ſeek and bring them home, Or elſe men gifted, that are no Miniſters (which I feare upon account will prove but few) muſt learn their callings, and give themſelves to the preaching of the word and Prayer, which both were diligently practiſed by the Apoſtles (as Miniſters) and with ſtrict charge impoſed upon all Miniſters to practiſe (as belonging to their office) to the end of the world. Again, if this be ſo, how is it that ſome of our brethren of that way, are ſo more buſie in ſeeking our converſion here (not ſo much to grace, as to their Church covenant) then to build up their own Church with which they are in covenant already at home?

13. They acknowledge a moſt [u] ſtrict tye between the Miniſter and his people, and that the one hath ſpeciall proprietie in the other. *Apol.* p. 11, 24. *R. M.* to *E. B.* p. 11.

u A right tenent, if rightly underſtood & limitted: But how comes it then that ſome of them that have charges, as Paſtours, in other Kingdomes far off, yet take and hold places of ſetled miniſteriall imployment here?

14. They conceive it unwarrantable that Miniſters ſhould have ſet and certain ſtipends or wages, much leſſe that they ſhould

should live upon tithes: But rather upon the peoples * voluntary contribution, weekly cast into the common treasurie, according to their weekly gaines: Out of which the Deacons are to distribute both unto the officers and poore, according to that which is brought in, and as they conceive to be fit and needfull for every one. *R. M.* to *W. R.* | *M. P.* to *S. A.* | *J. W.* to *T. S.* | *Answ.* to 32. q. p. 77. *Gen. cas.* p. 7, 8. *R. M.* to *E. B.* p. 7, 8.

Rob. justif. p. 214, 353. *Barn. Discov.* p. 53, 63, 62. *Brow. Confess. art.* 20, 45.

* Let the unpartiall Reader (now laying all ends together) judge whether the Ministers, according to their rules, be not the unhappiest servants under Heaven? For 1. they must serve many masters, perhaps many hundred, 2. doe great worke. 3. Yet nothing (in effect) pro-

yet to them, but as other servants of the Church. 4. Yet may neither know the certain bounds of their obesiegnce: 5. Nor indent for certain wages. 6. Nor change their master or mistresse if they doe not like, they may possibly be expelled, at the Churches pleasure, but never can depart at their own: But if this be so, how comes it to passe that some of them amongst us, doe not onely receive, but strictly require so much for the stipend for such a Le Curte, and so much more for such another, or else they will not preach, but also can be content to take the glebe, tithes and other profits not required. Parsonages and Vicaridges amongst us, as well as others. But in some sort, I marvell not at it, if that be true (which we are credibly informed) that some of our brethren of the ministerie there have not long since complained that their Prophets did now prophecie lesse for want of maintenance. *M. R.* to *E. A.* and others of them one of their love have named us of the like danger, if tithes (amongst us) should goe downe. *Mr W.* to *Mr M.* And therefore no marvell if our brethren that have been bitten with the peoples cold contributions there, be content to forsake that rule, and to covenant for wages, as we doe here.

15. As this Church hath power to make her own Ministers, so also to * question, censure, unmake and depose them; and by reassuming their power, to reduce them into the state of meere private men again. And this also they claime power to doe (as well as the other) without any authoritative concurrence of any others whomsoever; whole cōmunion although they may, and perhaps will crave and use, yet that is done freely without any authoritative obligation *in foro externo*. *Answ.* to 32. q. p. 41. *Answ.* to 9. *Pos.* p. 77. *J. C.* printed Letter, p. 3.

* Which power (we heare) also they have used upon very slender grounds, as to *Mr W.* | *S. B.* | *R. S.* their cases.

Rob. justif. p. 111, 176, 177. Sions royall Prerog. p. 26. | *Seper. Conf. art.* 23. *Cann.* necess. of separ. p. 155.

CHAP. XIII.

Of thoſe whom they call Prophets, and of prophecying, or private mens preaching.

1. THey hold it lawfull for meere private perſons (*i.e.* ſuch as neither are in office, nor are ever likely to be) to exerciſe their gifts in and before the whole Congregation, in [y] preaching, *i. e.* in expounding and applying the Scriptures to the ſeverall uſes of the auditors, by inſtruction, confutation, reprehenſion, with all authoritie; yea, that this is an ordinary and perpetuall ordinance in the Church grounded upon 1 *Cor.* 14. | *Anſ.* to 32. *q.* p. 78. *Cott. cat.* p. 6. | *R. M.* to *E. B.* p. 7. There is a book printed, called, A Sermon preached at *Plimmouth* in *N. E.* which (as I am certified) was made there by a Comber of wooll.

Rob. juſtif. p. 183. *Johnſ. Inq.* p. 7. A light for the ignor. p. 19.

Some of them (indeed) tell us that its ſeldome uſed, *viz.* only where the Church is [z] unfurniſhed with officers, or in caſe of their abſence or ſickneſſe. *Anſ.* to 32. *q.* p. 77.

2. Alſo after their Preaching they take upon them to bleſſe the people at their diſmiſſion, as the Miniſters doe.

3. Likewiſe they have a courſe (before their diſmiſſion) to give leave to any that doubts of any thing that hath been then or formerly delivered in publike by the Miniſter or any other, [a] publikely to propound their doubts, and make their

y Some ſay without any Moderator, at pleaſure, whereby ſtrange things have been vented, & Scriptures ſometimes notoriouſly abuſed. *M. W.*

z But ſuch occaſions are not rare with them, who oft for a long time want Miniſters in their Churches, at leaſt a full ſupply. Alſo ſome of them have their farmes, and ſo their families or ſervants ſo far off from their ſettled Congregations, as that they cannot poſſibly come every Sabbath (hardly any) to the Miniſterie (there) and therefore muſt either preach one to another, or elſe be utterly without. *L. P.* Beſides (we are informed from thence) the people of late grow more violent in clayming that their pretended libertie and priviledge of publike prophecying, urging for it the writings and arguments of *M. Rob.* the Brownift, ſometimes alſo contemning and deſerting their own Miniſters and Churches, becauſe they are not ſuffred to injoy it. *M. B.* to *S. A.*

a Me thinkes its an abrupt courſe at the firſt daſh openly to implead the Miniſter of errour delivered, before all the people; were it not more civilitie, pietie, charitie, and prudence to talke with him firſt in private: whereby either the doubter may be ſatisfied, or the Miniſter reduced, and both without any moleſtation or ſcandall to the people, or reproach to the Miniſter? Beſides, who muſt be judge in ſuch a caſe, muſt the injudicious multitude? For other judge they will not allow (I meane *in foro eccleſiæ*) nor any appeale to an higher Court.

objecti-

objections, and to argue *pro* and *con*, about any matter good for edification. *W.T.* to *P.H. Anſ.* to 32. *q.* p. 78. *Cor. cat.* p. 6. *Barr. diſcov.* p. 139. *Johnſ. Iaq.* p. 7.

CHAP. XIIII.

Of the [b] *independencie of one Church upon another, and the Combination of ſeverall Churches together, in Claſſes, Synods, &c.*

[b] Of late, ſome of them grow ſhy of the word Independent, *H.P.* in his Epiſtle to the Reader. Some utterly renounce it, *Apol. Nar.* p. 23. But yet its generall owned by moſt in the name, *R.M.* to *E.B.* p. 9. *Anſ.* to 32. *q.* p. 46, 47, 64, 65. by all in the thing, as after, *Anſ.* to 32. *q.* p. 43, 44, 46.

1. THey grant that Churches may and ought to conſult and adviſe one with another, in any doubtfull matter incident, and ought to hearken to the good advice of one another. And therefore they ſometimes allow combinations of divers Churches for conſultation: But not [c] imperative or coercive. *Anſ.* to 32. *q.* p. 64, 65, 66. *Johnſ.* plea, p. 251.

[c] They love no imperative Synods or Presbyteries, but they have ſtore of imperative Churches, who may command, yea, compell both members and Miniſters to act, it may be what they like not: why have not many Churches united as much power over every particular church within the union, as many members united have over every perſon amongſt themſelves.

2. But that each particular congregationall Church is the ſupreme judicature, whoſe power is abſolute and imperiall, and therefore may and ought to tranſact all things within themſelves without ſeeking or ſubmitting unto any authoritative concurrence of any other Churches. *R.M.* to *W.R.* *Cor. cat.* p. 12, 13. *Anſ.* to 32. *q.* p. 44, 62, 64, 65, 66. *T.W.* anſ. to 10. *queſt.* *Rob. juſtif.* p. 107, 112, 444. *Johnſ.* plea, p. 70, 251. *Barr. diſcov.* p. 261.

3. Therefore they hold it unlawfull for any ſuch combinations, whether in Claſſes, (*i.e.* compound Presbyteries) or Synods provinciall, nationall, or others to take upon them authoritatively to determine or decree any thing in matter of doctrine or practiſe, as intending thereby to oblige any more, or others then their own perſons, no not *in foro externo.*

no. Much lesse to execute any censure at all upon any other, nor yet upon any of themselves present, though never so delinquent: All this belonging onely to particular congregationall Churches, as their proper right. Therefore also they deny all representation of Churches absent: all authoritative [d] deputation or sending of Messengers to act for them: All appeales from the particular congregation to any higher judicature Ecclesiasticall. *Ibid.*

Johns. Inq. p.70.

4. If any Church among them doe erre or sinne in any notorious sort, the rest agree together to call them to an account, to instruct, advise, reprove, admonish them, &c. If they prove obstinate, and obey not their advises and admonitions, &c. then they likewise agree together to [e] desert them, and withdraw themselves from their communion. It may be also to call in the aide of the Magistrate to punish them with the civill sword, if the cause require it. *Ans.* to 32.*q.p.*62,79. | *Ans.* to 9.*Pos.p.*77. | *R.W.* to *E.B.* p.11. *H.W.* to *P.H.* | *Cott.cat.*p.13.

Causes Guide to Sion, *about the midst.*

d Yet some tell us that Mr *P.* and Mr *W.* were sent over hither by the Churches to negotiate for them here, which could not be, but by some decree or generall agreement amongst them; And if they may decree agents, and their instructions, why not other things also, as need requires.

e Are not here virtually so many Synodicall decrees? and is not this virtually a Synodicall excommunication of one church by many combined or agreed together? For what is the substance of excommunication, but a casting out of Church communion, which this is: If they say no more, viz. a delivering up to Satan. I *Answ.* So is this. For as Christ reignes within the Church, so Satan in the world, which is, all that is without the visible Church: So that whiles they oppose Excommunication Synodicall, they seeme to establish it. Nay that desertion of a whole Church is farre more cruell and dangerous, then any excommunication used by a Classis or Synod. 1. Because by that sometimes a whole Church or many Churches are cut off, but by this onely one or more particular persons only, the rest being retained in communion still. 2. By that the Church so left to themselves, is left to their errour, by this in likelihood forced from it. 3. That causeth endlesse rents, this union; by removing him or them only that troubled. 4. That hinders not but that many more Churches, at least, all the members of that Church in processe of time may be infected, whereas this by casting out the corrupt members only, keeps the rest sound.

Popular Government and want of authoritative Synods, the cause of their many schismes, confusions and contentions, which though by some dissembled, yet have been by others formerly espied, and now by some of themselves lately confest. See further *Post.* letter to Master *Bayly*, lately printed.

CHAP.

Chap. XV.
Of the Civill Magistrate.

1. THey hold the Magistrate cannot lawfully [f] compell men to enter into covenant with God, but being entred, they may and should compell them to keepe their Covenant. *Apol.*p.11,12.

Rob. justif. p.242,243. *Barr.*ag.*Cliff.*Preface.

2. Christians may and ought to set up and constitute new Churches, and practise in them all the Ordinances of God, without the consent, yea, and against the peremptory commands and established lawes of a Christian State, yea, and that in the midst of, and against the mind of such Churches, as themselves freely acknowledge to be the true Churches of God. *Ans.* to 32. *q.*p.35. | *R.M.* to *E.B.*p.2,3.

[f] How will our late solemne league with God and one another stand with this? and the opinion of many of them that hold the magistrate hath nothing to doe in matters of Religion.

Yet they denie this to us in their country, we must either have their consent (which we cannot have, unlesse we bee just of their way) or else no abiding there: of which see before. Also how doth this agree with that which they tell us, that they doe not admit to Church fellowship wives or children without their husbands and parents consent. *Apol.*p.27. I suppose they may doe this as well as that.

FINIS.

H The

The Postscript.

THus at length, Good Reader, thou hast the summe of the Church Courses of our *New England* brethren; even the way that so many that know it not, or cannot judge of it, doe so admire, so desire. And which themselves doe hold forth to us as the onely way of God, with such superlative commendations in their Letters to us, as if it were a perfect *Idea* of the Constitution, Discipline, and Government set up and exercised in and by the Apostolique Churches from point to point; from the beginning (till now of late me thinks they begin to abate) [See Mr *Peters* late Letter to Mr B. printed] inculcating what rare and admirable effects it hath produced amongst them, impatient that any should oppose it, or so much as question it; yea, threatning us with continuance of the sword untill we shall imbrace it: See M. *Peters* Preface, p. 1. excluding and exploding all other wayes as erroneous, false, wicked, and savouring at least strongly of Antichristianisme. But now that I have thus laid it before thee, I leave it to thy judgement (praying God to guide thee aright therein) whether it deserve all this or no. As for my selfe I look for lashes from many hands and tongues, but in patience (through the help of Christ) I shall possesse my soul, being supported by the conscience of mine owne integritie. And yet that I may somewhat rebate and take off the edge of as many mens displeasure as I may, I shall crave leave of thee to adde a few words more in answere to some of the principall objections in defence of my selfe and this Narration. *Object.* It will be said perhaps by some that this Narration is false, that they believe it not, or that they have heard of others the contrary. *Answ.* I pray it may be conceived and remembred that I have not undertaken to report things as there they really are, (which I could not doe, unlesse I had been an eye witnesse) but to collect their own reports of things scattered here and there in their own Papers, and present them joyntly together to thy view: so that, whether their reports be true or false is nothing to me; If I can cleare it to a candid and ingenuous Reader that I have not misreported their reports, I will be guiltlesse both before God and men: For my part I believe their reports to be true, as here they are represented to thee: Seeing they come not from malignants amongst them, or enemies to them, nor yet from men of small or no credit, but such as are members at the least of their Churches, and

and therefore true and reall Saints, which will not, at least, should not lye; yea, many of them officers, and some, yea, most of them Ministers of the Word in their Churches, who as they cannot be thought to be ignorant of, or mistaken in their courses, so much lesse can they be reasonably suspected of falshood or partialitie in their relations; At least, shall not by me, who both sufficiently know the fidelitie of the most of these from whom these intelligences come, and also have been by some of them so often chastened for making any doubt thereof. But suppose these reports should not be true, or that others of them should report otherwise, this may perhaps impeach their credit, it cannot mine; and I shall desire of him whosoever he be that shall call the truth of this Relation in question (for substance at least) that he himselfe would put forth a truer. It is a small thing to say, They hold not or they doe not this or that, but tell us what they doe hold and practise, that we may be misled no longer, as hitherto.

Object. But if this report be true, yet (if you thinke they doe evill) you should rather conceale your brothers faults and errours, Love covers the multitude of sinnes.

Answ. Love covers what sinnes may be covered, but some sinnes cannot be covered, they are so publikely committed; and some may not, though they could, because the concealment of them may doe hurt, to themselves or others, the publike, or private wealth; in which case it were both against Pietie, Charitie, and Prudence to conceale them. In both these respects, I conceive, their courses are not to be covered; First, they cannot, at least in great part, being long since made publike to the world, and daily are more and more by their own printing, preaching, and private instilling them into others. Secondly, they may not, if they could; seeing by forbearance all this while they have fretted like a Gangrene into the bowels both of citie and countrey; and I feare we have kept their counsell so long, that many of them are already past cure in their errour, and we almost remediles in our rents, tending unto ruine.

Object. You should rather have confuted them by arguments, &c.

Answ. This is already done in part by others, and the presse is still in travell, readie to bring forth more and new confutations of them. 1. This is none of the worst wayes of confuting them, as I conceive. To relate them fully is to confute them sufficiently in the judgement of men judicious and unengaged.

Object. You seeme by your paralell places quoted to accuse them of Brownisme, wherein you highly wrong them?

Answ. True, I doe so, and let the Reader judge upon examination and comparing of the places alledged, if it be not so: nay, if in some things they doe not build up an higher partition wall betweene themselves and all other churches then ever the Brownists did, as in their strict examination of members, in urging a Church covenant distinct from the covenant of grace, &c.

Besides, to what hath been said in the Narration, we may adde for further probabilities, and just causes of our feare in this kind, that 1. They sometimes cite, and approve of the Brownists Books in questions betweene us and them,

and provoke us to answer them: So we are informed from some of themselves (*P.B.*) that they use *Rob.* book for prophecie, and hold it unanswerable in that point: And their *Query* here is much of *Rob. justif.* and bid us answer it, if we can: which book is also in some sort approved by the Ministers of *N.E.* in their Apology for Church covenant, *p.* 30. 2. They use the same arguments, and produce the same texts of Scripture to the same purposes, as whosoever readeth their writings may observe. 3. They condemn their courses but coldly, with a *quatenus* only so far and so far, their rigiditie onely, not simply their separation; *vide* to *Q. Pos. p.* 53. *Apol. p.* 30. *Discourse of Gov. p.* 41, 42. They professe if there be any separating opinion amongst them they hold not themselves bound to inquire after it, nor to separate from the Brownists for their separating from us, *I.W.* ans. to 10. *quest.* / *M. H.* ans. to *I. P.* 4. They distinguish of separations, one they call moderate, the other rigid or bitter, this they condemne, but that they owne. But what they meane by this rigid separation, we well know not; for even the Separatists themselves doe condemne each others rigour, the latter generally condemne some bitternesse used against our Churches by *Barrow*, and *Greenwood*: And of the latter also, some (as *Robinson*) were far more moderate then the rest, yet were all of them complete Separatists, and so may these our brethren be too, notwithstanding that distinction. 5. They associate themselves in private communion, and in Church communion too with them: So *Mr. H.* to *I. P.* acknowledgeth, and justifies it also. See the Preface to Master *G.* defence of Master *Bridges* Iust. Vind. And we are credibly informed that *H. P.* received the Sacrament in a Brownists Church here in *London*, 1592, some assure us of profest correspondence and agreement between some of our late Apologists themselves, and those of the Separation here, only that they have advised them to be moderate in their courses. 6. The Brownists themselves doe claime them as their own, and boast of them. See Master *G.* defence of Master *Bradshaw* against *Cawne* in the Preface. 7. Though in the generall they professe to differ much from them, yet when it comes to reckoning we find it not so: which that it may appeare the better, let us heare our brethren themselves expresse the differences: *Epist. before the ans. to the 4. Positions, p.* 33. *&c.* They (*i.e. the rigid Separatists*) *separate from your Congreg. as no Churches, from the Ordinances dispensed by you as meere Antichristian, and from you your selves as no visible Christians*: and so in divers other places. Now excepting the last, which is proper to the most rigid, rigid Brownists of all as *Barrow*, &c. which the more moderate do utterly dislike as well as these our brethren, *Rob. justif. p.* All the rest for ought I yet see (putting in the word *unlawfull* in stead of *Antichristian*, as a milder termes) and by Ordinances understanding Church ordinances, as they needs must, they cannot excuse by their Principles and practises but to own them.

Obiect. By no meanes, for they confesse your Parochiall Congregations to be true Churches, which the other doe utterly denie. *Answ.* True, in words they doe, but in effect it is far otherwise. 1. In that they lay the selfe same principles that the moderater sort of Brownists doe, touching Church Constitution, Matter, Forme, Power, Government, Communion, corruptions, &c.

which

which being granted, the naturall product of such premises must needs be that we have no true Churches, and that our Ordinances are all unlawfull. 2. By carrying themselves towards us, as if we were no true Churches, or members of true Churches; for they denie our best and most eminent Christians all Church Communion with them, so they doe not to the members of any of the Churches of their own way; they withdraw themselves from all Church communion with us in the best and purest of our Assemblies, so they doe not from the Brownists: and whereas they hold they may not lawfully admit of the members of other Churches without power given them so to doe, by Letters of Recommendations from the said Churches, yet they not only admit, but invite thousands of the members of our Churches to their communion without, yea, against their consents. 3. Sometimes they approve of us but faintly and coldly, many faults they find with our Churches, little or nothing worthy of commendation in regard of our Church estate, or Church ordinances, *Apol. p.* 38. *Ans. to* 32. *q. p.* 25, 26, 27, 31. *Discourse of Gov. p.* 36. And when they would seeme to justifie, and pleade for us, yet then they doe it with such uncouth and far fetcht proofes, as we know not whether to accept or refuse their acknowledgement of the truth of our churches upon such conditions be the worse bargain; as when they say we have true Churches, because knit together in Church covenant, though implicite, because we had true Churches planted here (in the *New England* frame) in the Apostles times, and perhaps also since, &c. *Ans. to* 32. *q.* 7. 26. *Discourse of Gov. p.* 36, 37. *R. M. to E. B.* 4. Some of them come off as roundly as any Brownists doe, and tell us plainly that in deed we have good Materials, but we want forme, our Churches are Babels, harlots, Master *M.* to *I. M.* | *I. R.* to his parents. *M^rS.* to *I. B.* That we have true Churches, no right Sacraments, nor Ministers, *I. S.* to *Mrs B.* | *I. P.* to *W. R.* | *R W.* to *I. L.* | *Mr M.* to *I. M.* | *Mr L.* to his parents, &c. And threaten us with destruction *ex tempore*, inviting therefore all they can to depart from us, as from Babel, *Ibid.* and doctrinally teaching separation from us, as a duty, *Ans.* to 32. *q. p.* 32. And herein some of them are so cruelly kinde unto us, that they professe to be grieved that we have here any Preaching or Ordinances at all in our way, wishing we had none at all, that so we might be forced to fall into their Church-wayes for the enjoyment of them. *Mr M.* to *I. M.* And what is here said of their opinion of the truth of our Churches, the same is for substance to be understood of the truth of our Church Ministerie.

Object. You may as well call the good old non-conformists Brownists, as these men who have followed them (in these their opinions and practises) as their guides. *Answ.* In like manner doe the Brownists father their separation also upon the Non-conformists; but both sorts do it unjustly, that the Brownists doe it unjustly, he that will may see by *Mr Bally* book against *M. Cause* upon that very point, and in good part by another book lately printed, called a grave confutation of the errours of the Brownists made long since by sundry Godly Divines, which in their times suffred in the cause of inconformitie: For my selfe at this time I may not, I will not attempt to give satisfaction at large to this objection, onely this I say for the present that in such things

wherein either the Brownists, or these brethren do mainly differ from other the best reformed Churches, they have no consent or approbation from the Non-conformists at all; nay, contrarily by many undeniable evidences from their writings and practises it will appeare that they have ever stiffely opposed and conflicted with all popular and independent governments, in behalfe of that we call Presbyteriall. True, indeed some of them, especially in their polemicke writings, while they had the Prelacie in their eye, and no considerable adversarie, but that to contest withall, did perhaps somewhat unwarily (as may befall the best, and best learned men in such cases) let fall some such things, which these brethren make their advantage of; As that 1. a particular Church ought onely to consist of one Congregation. 2. That each particular Church hath power to transact all its own matters. 3. That this power is seated in the body: Many more then these I doe not now remember, which are in question between us and these brethren. But 1. these things they hold not as now our brethren doe: as if every small company of 7. 8. or 9. might make such a complete Church or Congregation to transact all their own businesses independently, without assistance of or being accountable unto classicall or higher combinations, nor that this power is seated in such a Congregation without their officers, or that they can exercise it any other-wayes but by them: But if any of them have gone far, as its more then I know, so its more then I will defend: But if all these in the Non-conformists sense were granted, it would doe our brethren little good. 2. Besides suppose they had the Non-conformists their guides in these three and three more of their Church courses in question, yet would not this reach to cover and hide the nakednesse of all the rest.

Object. We see the most of the better sort goe this way now. *Answ.* I believe not the most by many; but if it were so, that were no good argument to justifie it. 1. Because of those that doe go that way, a great number are Ambitious, Familists and Antinomians, &c. who all willingly choose to fall into the same channell of popularitie and independencie, perhaps partly out of designe, to make a more considerable (I say not formidable) party, that so either for favour or feare, they may be the more indulged; partly because it suites so well with mans proud nature; for every man by his good will would rule, and no man would willingly depend upon or be obnoxious unto another. 2. Most good mens affections are strong, when oft their judgements are weake. 3. All men are ever apt to run into extremes, hence it is that whiles they fly prelaticall tyranny, they easily fall into popular Anarchy. 4. The novelty of the course. 5. The peoples good opinion of the persons that way siding and drawing. 6. And the advantage the said persons have had, whereby to screw themselves further and further into the peoples good opinion and affection, by being ever imployed in the chiefest work of the ministerie in some of the chiefest of our Churches, although they have been so farre from acknowledging themselves ministers, as that they doe not so much as acknowledge themselves as members of any of our Churches, but as to us (according to their own rule) altogether without.

Object. This seemes to reflect upon our brethren that come out of Holland,

land, but these are not so rigid as the rest; what is this Relation to them? Ans. It concernes them I grant not so much, nor so directly, yet in some sort it doth: 1. Because sometimes they tell us they are of the same way with the N. E. brethren. 2. Both their disputes and practises so farre as they are knowne doe all look that way. 3. Their lying so close lockt up and reserved in many things makes them (I conceive not without cause) the more suspected; For truth seeks no corners, no cloaks. If therefore now by this occasion they would please to put out according to their promise, not a mock-Narrative, a meere gull, such as the last was, but (as a true so) a full, perfect and plaine discovery of their opinions in these things from point to point, and from end to end, I should heartily rejoyce, as in the much desired fruit of this my poore labour; That so all misunderstandings and misprisions being removed, and we rightly enformed of the just latitude of their and our differences: we might either more hopefully addresse our selves to satisfie their judgements, or else (if that cannot be obtained) the more willingly condescend to move (with them) for the favouring of their consciences, according to the rules of Pietie and prudence, in such things as are capable of toleration and indulgence. But lest (good Reader) I should be tedious to thee, I will cease to pursue these things any further at this time. And praying the God of peace and truth to send down his Spirit into all our hearts to lead us into both, that we, with all his, may truth it in love, and may all serve one God with one heart according to one way, even his own will revealed in his Word. To him I commit thee.

FINIS.

THE POSTSCRIPT.

FINIS.

A

SERMON

PREACHED UPON SUNDAY
THE THIRD OF MARCH
IN St. *Maries* OXFORD,

BEFORE

The Great Assembly of the Members,

OF THE

HONOURABLE HOUSE OF

COMMONS

There Assembled.

OXFORD,
Printed by LEONARD LICHFIELD, Printer
to the Vniversity. 1643.

SERMON

TO THE HONOURABLE,

Sr WILLIAM BOTELER

Knight, High-Sheriffe of KENT,

and Colonell of a Regiment of

Horſe for His MAJE-

STIES *Service.*

SIR, My moſt honour'd Colonell,

THis *Sermon, which was firſt preſented to the Eare, comes now abroad to be Preached unto the Eye: Wherein I have obeyed the* Deſires *of ſuch, who might have* Commanded *it. The* Maſter-Builders *in our* Iſrael, *are now (bleſſed be God) in Conſultation about the ſpeedy* Re-edifying *of the* Temple of Peace: *Vnto which, whiles* Others *bring in their* Gold, *and their* Silver; (*And, O that* every Morning, *they might* bring *it in ſo freely, till* Our Moſes *ſhould bee forc'd by his* Proclamation *to* Reſtraine *the People!*) *I, who am call'd to be a*

Labourer, *do here freely contribute, ſuch as I have,* Qui non poteſt Agnum, Columbam ferat: *Offering up a* Stone, *how Rough and Unpoliſh'd ſoever, to the* Building *of this* Temple. *Which* Stone, *if any man ſhall goe about to aſperſe with his* untemper'd Morter, *not ſuffering it to be laid (as the ſtones in* Solomon's *Temple were)* without Noyſe; *Let him know, that He, who has already ſacrificed his whole* Fortunes, *(ſuch as they were,) and is ready with all Cheerfulneſſe to lay down his* Life, *will not be unwilling to Expoſe his* Name; *if hereby, he may be made able, in the leaſt meaſure to promote the Glory of his God, and the Wellfare of his brethren.*

Sir, *This is That which I plead for in the pulpit, though, I confeſſe, , with more Zeale, then Learning; and this is That which you Fight for in the Field, with no leſſe Courage then Loyalty. I have the honour and happineſſe to be a witneſſe of your Compaſſion towards your* Brethren, *and of your Zeale towards God: And therefore, while I ſee* You *beare in one hand a Sword,* ſharpned *in* Iſrael, *not among the* Philiſtims, *againſt the Rebellious* Sheba; *and in t'other a Stone, hewen out of the Spirituall* Rock, *for Sacrilegious* Achan: *I hope, this* Your *known deteſtation of Rebellion and Sacriledge;* Your *cleare and unbiaſ'd purſuit of Religion and Liberty;* will *encourage that in Another, which* You *Practice* Your ſelfe. *The confidence Whereof invites Me to begge* Your *Protection to this Sermon, and the Author of it.*

SIR,

Your moſt obſervant

at Your Command,

GEORGE WILDE.

PSALM. 122. Vers. 8, 9.

For my Brethren and Companions ſake, I will now ſay, Peace be within thee.

Yea, *Becauſe of the Houſe of the Lord our God, I will ſeek thy Good.*

THat there may be an *Vniuſt* Peace, and that there may be a *Juſt* Warre, is ſo cleere and euident a Truth, that in moſt ages of the World, we ſhall find it written with the poynt of a Sword, in Characters of Blood; And as cleare it is, that we are bound to Pray againſt them both: Againſt ſuch a Peace, as only skinnes the ſore, but repairs not the body; a Peace that promiſes a ſubtle ſuperficiall Quiet in the Fathers dayes, but threatens the Sonnes with an inteſtine and more laſting Warre: And againſt all Warre; if not for the many ſins which Liſt themſelves even with the juſteſt Cauſe; yet at leaſtwiſe, for the Temptations ſake, which in the holieſt Warre too often aſſault the braueſt Champions: And we

 are

are bound to pray againſt all Temptations in what kind ſoever.

I am not, dare not be of his Religion, who ſaid, that *Gunpowder in the Field gave as ſweet a Perfume, as Incenſe at the Altar*: And yet, ſuch may be the caſe, and ſuch now it is, that the Incenſe at the Altar burnes the ſweeter for the Gunpowder in the Field. The ſmoak of the Canon is good or bad, as the cauſe is ſo; and that which proves a ſtench, an odious ſtench in the noſtrils of the Almighty, when it is fired to blow up a State, when it is fairly exerciſed to defend Religion, then it ſmels like the precious Oyntment upon *Aarons* Head.

I preſume, the *Socinian* is not here, who ſubſcribes to the unlawfulneſſe of all warre; ſo ſubtilely taught the *Anabaptiſt* once, till he had compaſſed a mighty ſtrength, and a Power of reſiſtance: He taught ſo, till he made *Germany* reele with his thundering Legions, borrowing that very argument to beat down the ſword of Warre, which the *Jewes* at this day make uſe of, to cry down the Saviour of the World, and the Prince of Peace, as not yet come, *viz.* That in the time of the Goſpell all Nations are required to
Eſa. 2. 4. Mic. 4. 3. *beat their Swords into Plow ſhares, and their Speares into Pruining hookes.* Whereas indeed the Prophets doe hereby commend unto us, not the Practice of Chriſtians, but the Doctrine of Chriſt. If we would put on the Lord Jeſus, that ſame loue and meekneſſe, which we ought to doe, and become ſuch men, as Chriſt in his Goſpell chargeth us to be, there would be no need of the Sword then; we ſhould be greater ſtrangers then to the loud reports of Warre, then we are now to the ſweet ſounds of Peace.

But now, the Almighty, who is himſelfe the Lord of Hoſts, as well as the God of Peace, hath put a Sword into the

the hand of the ſupream Magiſtrate, a ſharpe edged Sword, not a painted Dagger; and *Warres well grounded are nought elſe* (ſaith my Author) *but ſuits of Appeale to the great Conſiſtory of Heaven.* However, it will appeare that Iſrael found not ſo much comfort in *Davids* Victorious Lawrell, as under *Solomons* ever peaceſull Vine. There may dwell more of Honour in a facrificed face, but in a ſmooth skinne there ſhines more of Beauty; this a work of Creation, and that of chance. We muſt ſtill preferre the Olive to the Ivie. *David* one of the three Worthies of *Iſrael* did ſo: Whoſe ſword, though it were drunke with the blood of Gods enemies; yet you ſhall never find him to beginne the Quarrell with them; he was forced in a manner to Fight for the Peace of *Jeruſalem*; and to ſhew how great an Enemy he was to Warre, (which moſt commonly has been an Enemy to Religion and Liberty) he not only called upon his Brethren to Pray for that Peace, but for their ſakes is reſolved to lead them the way.

For my Brethren and Companions ſake I will now ſay,
Peace be within thee.
Becauſe of the Houſe of the Lord our God, I will ſeeke
thy good.

Religion and Liberty, thoſe two Atlantes, the Pillars upon which *Jeraſulem* ſtands, and which are now ſo much pretended by our Enemies, ſo much ſought after by us, are the two motives in my Text, which here firſt ſet a good King upon his knees to pray for the Peace of *Jeruſalem*; and then ſet him upon his legges agen, (if need be) to fight for that Peace.

For my Brethren and Companions ſake: theres his Charity; or, you may call it in a larger ſenſe, the *Liberty of the Subject*. For which we have the Royall word of a King,

I will now say (saith he) Peace be within thee; or, *I will wish thee Prosperity*: as some read it. Now Peace without Liberty, Prosperity and Bondage are they not inconsistent?

But secondly, *Because of the House of the Lord our God*: Behold here his Piety; behold here, the Religion of our *David*; and for which (*O Jerusalem* he will more then With, he will endeavour thy good. So that, if either his Heart or his Braine, if either his Pen or his Sword can purchase the Peace and Prosperity of his Brethren, together with the pure worship of his God; we have his full and Princely Resolution. *I will* say, and *I will* seek.

The words then in briefe containe in them a *double Act* enforced from a *double motive*: an *Act of wishing*, and an *Act of seeking*. The first relates unto the Heart and the Tongue, *Loquar de Pace tua, I will pray for thy Peace*, or *I will wish thee Prosperity*: The second imployes the Brain and the Hand, indeed all the members, *Quæram bonum tibi*. I will Study, *I will seek thy good*.

Corresponding to which *double Act*, we have a *double Motive*.

1. *For my Brethren and Companions sake*; a Motive of *Community* and *Compassion*.
2. *Because of the House of the Lord our God*, a *Motive of Piety* and *Religion*.

I begin at the *double act*: which I shall twist together into one discourse, and (as I am able) discover unto you a good King labouring both in Word and Deed for the Peace of *Jerusalem*.

{ *I will now say Peace*, &c. }
{ *I will seek thy good.* }

And here to facilitate the cleerenesse of this point; let us first take a view of the State of the Kingdome in the seasonableneſſe

nableneſſe of the wiſh. I will *Now* ſay. Which inſtant of time, though in the ſtrictneſſe of King *Davids* Chronicle, it reflect only upon the returning of the Arke unto *Jeruſalem* from the hands of the *Philiſtiaes*; yet, becauſe his ſcrutiny and ſearch after Peace, was eminent throughout all his perſecutions, both from Forraigne and domeſtique Enemies; and becauſe this Pſalme of *Degrees*, was in lieu of a *Te Deum*, ſet and tuned for his Harpe, to be ſung upon every ſolemne Feaſt day, and at all times whenſoever he or his People approached the Courts of the Lord: Therefore we ſhall take leave to runne this *Now* through each ſeverall trouble of holy *Davids* Reigne. I will *Now* ſay.

Now, that you have dranke deep of the dregges of Gods wrath; *Now*, that you have ſeen with horrour, and rued with loſſe the curſed Councels of *Achitophel*, which yet you *hearkned unto, as unto the Oracles of God*: *Now*, that ſo many *Iſralites* have fallen and periſhed in the unnaturall Rebellion of *Abſolon* and *Sheba*; *Now*, that the houſe of *David waxeth ſtronger and ſtronger, and the houſe of Saul waxeth weaker and weaker*: *Now*, that the multiplied ſucceſſes of a rightfull ſword, might entitle me to a more abſolute Dominion, and invite me to expect a perfect and full ſignall Conqueſt over my Subjects; promiſing a double right to a Throne, as well through your Blood, as by *Samuels* Oyle, yet *Now* am I ready to embrace a Treaty of Peace; and to evidence unto the World, that the proſperity and welfare of *Jeruſalem*, is the prime aime of its Soveraigne, I will *Now* ſay, Peace be within thee.

2 Sam. 16. 23.

2 Sam. 3. 1.

I will forget how *Shimei* curſed the *Lords Anointed*; and how my *Meſſengers* whom I ſent to *Hanun* with an Olive Branch in their mouthes were vil'enouſly entreated *by the Princes of the Children of Ammon*: I will forget all this,

2 Sam. 16.

2 Sam. 10.

1 Sam. 25. 3 Sam. 16. and I will forgive moreover the Churliſhneſſe of *Nabal*, and the falſe ſuggeſtions of *Ziba*: my houſhold Servants who eat bread from the Kings Table, they ſhall not for all their Apoſtacy, be forced (as their Maſter was) to eat the bread of Affliction.

2 Sam 13. And though the *Ziphites* and the *Keilites*, whom I reſcued from danger, and protected by my preſence, would ſecretly have betrayed me into the hands of mine Enemy; yet I will paſſe an Act of Oblivion upon this their trechery: I will *Now* ſay Peace be within thee. Nay, were that *Arch Rebell* now living, who *ſtole the hearts of the men of Iſrael from me*; and who under pretence of doing Juſtice, ſeiz'd firſt upon the *Judicature*; (*There is no man deputed of the King to doe right*; and therefore, *O that I* (ſaith he) *were made Judge in the Land, that every man which hath any ſuit or cauſe, might come to me, and I will doe him Juſtice.* 2 *Sam.* 15. *v.* 3, 4.) And then under a colour of Religion, *v.* 7. ſeizeth next upon the *Militia*; *who went in their ſimplicity, and they knew not any thing*, v. 11. but afterwards by a *continuall encreaſe*, grew up unto a great Rebellious Army, to take away not onely the *Crowne* and *Dignity*, but the very *life* of their Liege Lord, 2 *Sam.* 17. 2. 4. Yet neither ſhould he be exempted from Repentance and Pardon (if he would lay hold of it) I would *Now* ſay, Peace be within thee.

'Tis true, that Peace carries as glorious a preſence with it, as harmonious a ſound, as full a traine of Epithites, as (I think) any bleſſing under Heaven, Βαθύπλουτος, ἀλόδοξος, πολύκαρπος, ζαμενὴς, in *Ariſtides*: Loud expreſſions all of them: yet they all come ſhort of him, who fancied a kind of maliciouſneſſe even in an *unjuſt* Peace: *Injuſtam Pacem Juſtiſſimo Bello*: the only place, that ever the Terme *unjuſt* ſerv'd

ſerv'd to a good ſenſe. But ſtill we are too ſhallow. The bleſſings of Peace are beyond both *Greek* and *Latine* Oratory: the *Goſpell*, and *Chriſts* moſt precious blood muſt come in to rate them. Our Peace, *Pax noſtra Chriſtum valet*, it coſt God no leſſe then an Incarnation, and a Crucifixion too: whereby he atchiev'd the Title and honour, not onely of being the Author of Peace, 1 *Theſ.* 5. 25. but is the Prince of it, *Eſa.* 9. Prince of that Peace, which is it ſelfe a Princeſſe; if Saint *Paul* have any skill in Principalities and Powers: who therefore cals upon us for our Allegiance, to be Loyall Subjects, and to *ſuffer with all thankfulneſſe the Peace of God to Rule in our Hearts*: *Brabeuein, Imperet*, ſaith he, *Coloſſ.* 3. 15. Let it have Dominion over you; and therefore at leaſt, a Princeſſe. A puiſſant victorious Princeſſe, *Quæ Superat omnem intellectum*: a Wife and valiant Princeſſ: *Quæ munit & cuſtodit corda veſtra*. And the Peace of God (a Peace which I am confident *David* wiſhed to be within *Jeruſalem*, as well as an externall Proſperity) *And the Peace of God which paſſeth, ὑπερέχουσα, which ſubdues and Conquers all underſtanding, ſhall keep, φρουρήσει*, which is a military word, ſhall entrench and guard, *your hearts and minds through Chriſt Jeſus*, Phillip. 4. 7.

But theſe, however convincing arguments in their own nature, (and methinks the Goſpell ſhould need no Second, no other Spokes man then the *Meſſiah*) yet when they encounter ours ſo perverſe and ſtubborne, they winne but weakly upon our affections. The only Maſculine Logick now lyes in the Sword; and we muſt haſt unto the Camp for a true definition of Peace.

When once we begin to find the ſword ſtealing from a Neighbours boſome to lighten in our faces, and to lodge

in

in our Bowels; Then presently we advance into an extasie of Expression, blessing those former dayes, now forfeited by our sinnes, wherein we could call somewhat our Owne; our Estates and Fortunes our Owne, our Children and Servants our Owne; our Owne Bodies, yea and our Consciences they were our Owne: For even in Religion we can remember the day, when we had a *Propriety* in that too. Then we can say, O thrice happy Peace, wherein we might see the King and Subject so incorporated each into other, as that *Salus Populi*, was not distinguish'd into frensie, or put upon the rack to make an argument for Rebellion; Nor yet *Prærogativa Regis*, raised as a step or staire to Tyranny: But were both of them like the two eyes in the Body, shedding equall light, and darting forth a comfortable shine to the head and to the inferiour members. Compare these times with what we have lost, and our Fathers dayes will run the danger of an *Utopia*; be deem'd rather the sport of a luxuriant Fancy, then any reall truth. Then, when the King seemd rather a Steward *for* the people, then a Lord *over* them; and when the People were so endear'd into the favour of the Prince, as if there had been an holy kind of Anarchy in State, and every man had been both a King and a Subject: well may we ingeminate the Rapture, and Cry, O thrice happy, O thrice blessed Peace.

And yet to redeeme those times, and to recover that Peace, the blessings whereof we have learn'd so throughly from the miserable effects of Warre; God knowes how few there be who are contented to spend more then an empty Prayer, a little wholesome breath, and a cheap wish: I will *wish* thee Prosperity; and I will now *say*, Peace be within thee. If words could make the purchase, should we not all be buyers? But, I will *seek* thy good; seek it

through

through fire and water, engage my Life and Fortune for the Peace of *Ieruſalem*; I doubt mee this will prove a hard Chapter to thoſe, who through avarice, lazineſſe, or Cowardice, have cauſeleſly reſolved before hand, we ſhall bee all undone; and therefore make it their only ſhifting ſtudy, how to fall laſt in the Field. Whereas indeed God may juſtly challenge the very ſpring of our Actions; and therein is to be invocated and petitioned, not only with the Heart and Tongue, but likewiſe with the Hand, or what other member we can finde more Active, for the procurement of our Peace. For otherwiſe, to Pray with the Lippes, and unpray with the Hand, *i. e.* to begge Peace at Gods hands, and ſcarce ſtretch out our Owne to take it, what is this, but to play handy dandy with our maker? Wee would have Peace, but not yet, *Lord*; or, we would have Peace but are loath to Buy it; Or, if Buy we muſt, will not a little Sweat ſerve the turne? This marketting and chaffering for Gods bleſſing, which was wont to be cheap at the price of Blood; is to dally with his mercy, and cals aſſuredly for his *Iuſtice*.

How much better therefore that poſture of the men of *Iudah*, whom we find with a Petition in their mouth, and a ſword in their hand? They cryed unto the Lord their God and fought with their enemies, 2 *Chron*. 13.14, & 14.11. indeed, as the Kings Ἐξεζήτησα, in the laſt verſe of this Pſalme, ſignifies a through Seeking, a Search with Prayer; ſo at the ſixth verſe, the Peoples Ἐρωτήσατε, is a through Praying, a Prayer not without Seeking; and in both words wee read great endeavours.

It ſeemes, the Peace of *Ieruſalem* was loſt, as doth appeare by *Davids* ſeeking for it: And he ſought it in the *Wilderneſſe*, at *Nob*, in *Gath*; he ſought it at the hands of friends

and Strangers; nay, hee ſought it moſt paſſionately from them who had leaſt reaſon to deny it. And, thinke we, he would have parted with his Wives, his *Jonathan*, his friends and ſervants, (and you know, all this he parted with afterwards, out of a pure love to Peace) would he have fled from the great City to *Mahanaim*, and changed the Royall Palace for the cave *Adullam*, 1 *Sam.* 22.2. Where wee read that *every one that was in diſtreſſe* (to wit, for a good conſcience ſake) *and every one that was in debt* (*i. e.* beggard and undone, they and their Children, by the rage of a prevailing Enemy) *and every one that was diſcontented, or bitter of ſoule* (to wit, to ſee the Lords annoynted ſo malitiouſly traduced and perſecuted) *gathered themſelves unto him, and he became a Captaine over them: and there were with him about foure hundred men:* not above foure hundred men at firſt, when he defended himſelfe from *Aſſoſſins*; and but *ſix hundred men* at firſt, to ſhield him from the *Rebellion* of *Abſolom*, 2 *Sam.* 15.18. And (thinke we) hee would have endured all this, and have ſet up with a handfull of men againſt the many thouſands of *Iſrael*, had it not been by ſome particular *Item* and encouragement from Heaven, to goe in queſt for ſome ſuch rare publique bleſſing, as the good and proſperity of *Ieruſalem*.

1 Sam. 22. *I* (ſaith he) *will ſeeke thy good:* as if he had ſaid: Well, I ſee how bloodily *Doeg* that *Edomite*, is bent againſt the Prophets of the Lord. I heare a Trumpet blowne by the 2 Sam. 20. treacherous *Sheba* to unite *Ephraim* and *Manaſſeth* againſt 2 Sam. 17. loyall *Iudah*. *Ahitophel* too, who plots how to dry up the Holy Oyle wherewith I was annoynted, and ſo conſequently to alter the very Ordinance of God, and to bring Confuſion upon *Ieruſalem*: let him plot and contrive ſtill; V. 23. But marke the end of him. And though *Ioab* and *Abner* ſhould

ſhould be ſo little touched with the feeling of Gods inſtant judgements, as to ſport in Blood; (*Let the young men now ariſe and Play before us*, 2 *Sam.* 2. 14. a ſtrange bloody kind of Play, for *every man to thruſt his ſword in his brothers ſide*, *verſ.* 16.) could they have the heart to hackny out this Kingdome, to husband the preſent Warre, and to ſpinne out the ſword, only for their owne profits ſake: Yet, believe mee, O *Ieruſalem*, and take it *upon the word of a King*, I will ſeeke thy good. Nay take it under my Hand, Which is the greateſt ſecurity I can give thee for the preſent, againſt the diſloyall and unſubjectly diffidence of ſome diſtruſtfull *Iſraelites*; who though they ſlander us with an intention to ſubvert the Peace of *Ieruſalem* in her *Liberty* and *Ieruſalem*.

His Majeſties anſwer to a Remonſtrance or Declaration May 26. 1642. pag. 7.

Yet we ſay (and he would have his Subjects to Remember it) *we ſay, with a cleere and upright conſcience to God Almighty, whoſoever harbours the leaſt thought in his Breaſt of ruining or violating the publique Liberty or Religion of this Kingdome let him be Accurſed: And he ſhall be no Counſellour of Ours, that will not ſay* Amen.

Now time was, when a Kings word, and the Hand-writing of a King, would have paſſed without other ſecurity: (I enquire not what they will doe now) *and whatſoever the King did, pleaſed the People*, 2 *Sam.* 3. 36. His bare example was both a Law and a Demonſtration. *Vita Principis cenſura eſt*: the very Life and Converſation of a chaſte Prince, is a good Sermon, and Preacheth downeright at the Libidinous Subject: His *yea* and *nay* ſtrikes dumbe the Blaſphemer: and Gods Houſe is ſtill the fuller for the preſence of the Royall Majeſty. It were a reproach to our Nation to let the King be the ſole Pacifique.

'Tis true (and to *your* laſting Honours it will bee ſpoken)

ken) that *you* have not suffered *your David* to tread the way of Peace, alone. Witnesse the *Dove* which you sent *at first* from this floating *Arke*; which, though it return'd not home unto you with an *Olive-Branch*; (as you might expect) though they answered your *Dove* with a *Raven*; which you expected not; yet wee have heard of your sending the *Dove* abroad, a *second time*, to discover *whether the Waters be abated*; (those waters which King *David* complaines of, that they overwhelmed him; and which in time, would rot and quite sinke the *Arke* it selfe) and to learne, whether the Deluge of Blood, which has now prevailed more then *an hundred and fifty daies twice told*, may yet find some hopes to fall, or runne into an Inundation of joy.

The Covenant as is pretended of both Kingdomes.

However, if They, who first imbarqued this Kingdome for a Tempestuous Sea, have not only torn down the sayles, but cut off the Anchor; as if it were all one to them, sink or swimme: If they, who first drew the Sword, have quite thrown away the Scabbard, with intent never to sheath it more, unlesse in the Bowells of their poor Brethren; yet this whole Kingdom, even all, whom ignorance, or malice have not left desperately blind, do plainly see; and can cheerfully attest, how pressing *You* are to rebuild the Walls of *Jerusalem*, and the Temple of Peace, (if it may be) with the *Trowell* onely, without the supplement of a *Sword*. Yea, and they greatly rejoyce to see, how unanimously *You* are inclined to compassionate your Brethren; to preserve their Religion, and so, (that I may speak to you in your own words) to *Reye up this Church and State from ruine and Desolation.*

Nehem. 4. 17.

Indeed, your *Brethren*, they are your *Brethren*, the sons of your Mother, who now Bleed in every Veine of this King-

Kingdome: The Fortunes of your *Brethren*, which are now wounded and sacrificed to the present fury of the Sword: The Wives and Children of your *Brethren* which are menaced with an ensuing Famine: yea, and many your poore *Brethren* Themselves, who are already overtaken with it, now crying aloud unto you for bread; (doe you not heare them from *Lambeth* and from *London* hither?) and who being imprisoned for no other Crime but their Loyalty and Allegiance, are there ready to starve for the Testimony of a good Conscience. O let your Charity be heard anon to out-voyce, & to cry down their hunger! and that too, in some measure, for Their sakes, who are our Prisoners veriest Enemies; *viz.* that they may not be guilty of Murthering them in cold Bloud: They also are your *Brethren*, according to the Flesh; and we have no warrant to promote or wish any mans damnation. But you have other *Brethren* in that great City; who are more at Liberty in their Bodies, but nothing so free in their Soules: I meane such who adhere outwardly to the Rebellion, though in their Hearts they dayly curse the Authors and Fomenters of it; Those who deny Christ for their Wives and Childrens sake; and comply with the Times, not for Love, but out of Feare; just as the *Romans* who deified Diseases, or, as the *Indianes* who now worship the Divell, *Non quòd amant, sed ne noceat*, that hee may doe them no hurt. Yet these poore timorous Soules deserve some Compassion; They are our *Brethren*.

Upon occasion of their Petition, which was made knowen in the Church and accordingly the Charity of the Congregation implored.

And then secondly *Religion*, it is *Religion* that now runs Retrograde; *Religion* that now lies a bleeding. The pure *Service* of our God blasted and scandaliz'd with the name of *Anti-Christianisme*: The *House* of our God converted into a *Denne of Theeves*; or, whatsoever Denne else you

know more ſavage: The name of our God crucified and torne to pieces; and that too, I wiſh I could not ſay, aſwell by *Royaliſts*, as by *Rebels*. And therefore, I hope you ſhall not need a ſtronger conjurement then this: indeed I know not who can find a ſtronger then *Brother* and *Maker*. *For my Brethrens ſake, and for Gods ſake.*

We read at the firſt of *Kings* and the twentieth Chapter, that when *Benhadad*, and *his two and thirty Kings* had drawne out into the Field, and beſieged *Samaria*, that *Benhadad* ſent Meſſengers to the King of *Iſrael*, in a manner, to demand his whole Kingdome. *Thy Silver and thy Gold is mine, thy Wives alſo and thy Children,* (thy Servants) *even the goodlieſt are mine*, v.3. Now can we imagine it to ſtand with the Honour of a King of *Iſrael*, to yeeld to ſo unequall Conditions? And yet yeeld he did. *According to thy ſaying* (ſaith he) *I am thine and all that I have*, v.4. Yet this (as God would have it, who can draw Good out of Evill) would not content *Benhadad* and his 32 *Kings*. For perceiving the eaſineſſe of the King, and with what Facility they had obtained thus much, They make this grant but a ſtep to a freſh Demand; and now, they muſt have more: Even his men of Warre, his ſtrong-holds, his Cities, his Forts and Magazines; yea, and the houſe of his God; *Whatſoever was moſt deſireable and pleaſant in the eyes of the King*, v.6. Where upon he begins now to conſider the unreaſonablenеſſe of their demand: Collects himſelfe; ſummons the *Princes*, the *Nobles*, and *the Elders of Iſrael*, v.7. whoſe generall Vote it was, by no meanes to yeeld to ſuch inequitable and unprincely Conditions: *And all the Elders, and all the People ſaid unto him, Hearken not unto them nor Conſent*. v.8 He did ſo, as they adviſed him: and the next newes is, *The Syrians are ſmitten twice by the ſword of Iſrael*, v.20. & 29.

If

If either the *Liberty* of our *Brethren*, or the *worſhip* of our *God* be demanded as a Prey and ſpoyle for the railing *Rabſhakeh* or imperious *Benhadad*; the promiſe of private eaſe and effeminate Peace, muſt not lock up the ſword within the ſcabbard; But let the King ſay then, as *Nehemiah* did, *unto the Nobles, and the Rulers, and to the reſt of the People*, Nehem. 4.14. *Be not ye afraid of them; Remember the Lord, which is great and terrible, and fight for your Brethren, your Sonnes and your Daughters, your Wives and your Houſes*; and for the houſe of the Lord.

Thus did *Nehemiah*; who ſought for Peace, and was forced upon a poſture of Warre. And thus did *David*; who ever prayed for Peace, though ſometimes with a Sword in his Hand. And that, *For his Brethren and Companions ſake:* and *becauſe of the Houſe of the Lord his God:* Which leades mee from the double *Act* to the double *Motive*. A *Motive* of *Community* and *Compaſſion*; and a *Motive* of *Piety* and *Religion*. But firſt of the *Motive* of *Community* and *Compaſſion*.

For my Brethren and Companions ſake.

That is, (as I told you at firſt) for the *Liberty* of the *Subiect*, A thing which at this day is invaded, nothing more; and yet nothing ſo much pretended to make the Invaſion good. *Liberty*, which is ſo often acknowledged from the *Quill* of an *Eagle* to bee the proper *Birthright* of every true Subject (indeed though *David* offer us a kindly ſhelter from the ſcorching heat, under the *Branches* of his *Royall Oak*; yet he denies us not the *ſhade* of *our owne Figge Tree:* And then, is it not fit, that we agen ſhould convey ſome ſap and moiſture to the *Root* of *that Oake*, that ſo his *Branches* may ſtill *flouriſh* and

and protect us? Is it not fit, that wee ſhould returne and afford him ſome *ſhade*, yea, and reach him ſome *Fruit* too from our *Figtrees?* Thou canſt not be ſaid to rob thy ſelfe, when thou giveſt *Cæſar his due*; *Tribute* doth no way diminiſh or undermine *Liberty*.) I ſay, *Liberty* (notwithſtanding the former Benefit) is now armed to cut the *Throat* of *Liberty*, and made the only *ſtale* to bring in *Slavery*,

Quidam ut Imperium ſubvertant Libertatem proferunt: ſi ſulverterint, Ipſam aggredientur. The Hiſtorian writes as a Prophet of theſe times.

In Paradox. Now Liberty, it is ill defin'd by *Cicero* to be *Poteſtatem vivendi ut velis*; to be a Power of doing whatſoever ſeemeth beſt in our own eyes, without Check or Controule. (and ſuch a time there was once in *Iſrael*; but 'twas, when there was no King there) no: true Liberty conſiſts in an orderly ſubjection of the will to Law and Equity. It is indeed (as the the *Civilians* tell us) a Naturall faculty, *Faciendi quod cuique facere libet*; but then with this following reſtriction, *niſi ſi quid vi aut Jure prohibeatur*. And *Excepto ſi quid Maſuri Rubrica vetavit*; ſo *Perſius*. And then, as *Seneca* informs us, ſpeaking of the ſtate of Rome, in the times of *Julius* and *Auguſtus*, *Salva eſſe Roma non poterat, niſi beneficio ſervitutis*; So give me leave to conſtrue Servitude into a Subjectly obedience, and I will ſay, that neither can this *Iſland* ever be ſafe, but through the benefit of ſuch a Subjection.

L. libertas. F. de ſtat. hom.

Indeed, take away the Boundary of the Lawes; and what is this but to erect a Tyranny within every breaſt? if that queſtion bee rightly put, (as I conceive it is) *What is Tyranny, but to admit no Rule to Governe by, but our owne Wills?* Take away our *ſub* and *ſupra*; the Power of Dominion, and the Right of ſubiection: change but Liberty into Licentiouſneſſe; and you open the floodgate to that impetuous

Torrent

Torrent, and that now justified and experienced truth; which has been twice or thrice Honour'd with the Quotation of a *Prince*, though to the great dishonour of the Author; *viz. Lust will be a Law unto it selfe, Incest will be a Law, and Theft will be a Law, and Rapine will be a Law, and Murther will be a Law.* Incest and Theft, and Murther, are these the wholsome good Lawes which we have so long looked for? Yes, these are the unlucky, the illegitimate brats and spawne of our teeming Rebellion. *Silent inter Arma Leges, Fides Pietasq;* If at any time, 'tis now, that we may behold the Triumphes of Sedition and Heresie, Profanenesse and Blasphemy enthron'd; and the High-noon of Violence and Oppression: Which since they cannot but fal heavy upon *Davids* Brethren and Companions; therefore is it especially that he so earnestly praves & sues for Peace upon *Jerusalem*: *For my Brethren and Companions sake.*

He cals them *Brethren* who yet was their *Father*, and deignes to be a *Companion* to those whose *Master* he was. As *Majesty* doth become the Person of a *King*, so likewise doth *Affability*. The Men of *Mexico*, who dare no longer look their Soveraigne in the Face, after the Solemnities of the Inauguration are passed over; what do they hereby, but Rob the King of his *Humanity*? And those on t'other side, who thinke a little d'offing off the Hat, and a *Good morrow for all day*, Respect and Reverence enough for the *Lords Annointed*; doe they not pillage him of his Divinity? Princes are *Gods*, to teach us, not to play with that holy flame which at an awfull distance Warm, but burns upon too neer & bold Approaches: But Princes, they are *Men* too; to teach them from the Humility of their own mould to compassionate, and not to overlook their Brethren.

Now our Pitty and Compassion is a rich endowment

and choice affection of the Soule, becomming us both as Men and Christians; and of which the very Beasts are Capable: insomuch that if *Balaam* smite his *Asse* without a cause, the dumb *Asse* doth not want a Tongue to reprove him of Cruelty. How much more then ought we to Compassionate our languishing Brethren, when we are bound to be mercifull to our fainting Beasts? *For my Brethren and Companions sake*: Me thinks this verse carries an *Especially in it*: *Especially* to pray for Peace, because of *Them*. For howbeit that Christian Love be due to all from all men; yet is not grace so thwarting and Crosse to *Nature*, but that it will allow our Affections to settle more upon One, then upon another. There is an *Especially* to them of the *Houshold of faith*, *Gallat.* 6. 10. *especially doe good to them*.

You that sit here to bee up the Wounds, and to repaire the Breaches of a *Kingdome*; Yet, so farre as it doth not impaire the Honour and safety of the *Republique*, you are to be allowed and cherished in your more singular Care and Affections for the Peace of your own particular *Countries*. We may be very Loyall *Subiects*, and yet be very Loving *Neighbours*; even Christ, who was a most indulgent and tender *Master to all* his Disciples, had yet his *Beloved John*; nor doth his Breast me lie open for every one to leane upon. If at any time you find him bemoaning the Unthankfulnesse of *Corazin* and *Capernaum*; yet you shall see Him downright to Weep over the Ingratitude of *Jerusalem*. We are bound by the Badge of our Christian Profession, to Compassionate the miseries of Gasping *Germany*: We have Brethren there, whose sad and wofull estate implores and Commands our Pitty and our Prayers for them. And yet That hindered not, but that we might, ere while, have

advan-

advanced our Compassion over the miserable Condition of Bleeding *Ireland*. Nor doth This hinder but that we are still to keep a Choice Reserve of Teares and Prayers, for the Peace of our distressed Mother *England*. *England* at this day, you may behold her weeping for her *Father* and her *Sonnes*; for her *head* that is Crownd with Thornes; for her *two Eyes*, the *Universities* of this Land, which grow dim and darkish; (God keep them from being quite put out!) for her *hands*, the Courts of Justice, which are palsy-shaken, & scarce able to hold the *scales* & the *sword*, for her Feet, *viz.* the Common People, who are carried away like Sheep without a Shepheard. *Non qua eundum, sed qua Itur*; wandring up and down in the By-pathes of Ignorance and disobedience. *O yee that passe by*, All yee that beare good will unto *Zion*; Come, and lend us here your Teares and your Prayers; *For your Brethren and Companions sake*, O pray for the Peace of this Jerusalem.

1 *For my Brethrens sake*. My Brethren, not onely those who dwell within the Wals of Jerusalem; but also those who Visit her from abroad: The Faithfull, be they of what Place or Country soever, never so high, or meane in their Condition, they are all Brethren, and Christ himself is but our Elder Brother: the Root of this our Consanguinity (if I may so call it) and neere Alliance unto Christ springing from our obedience to his Fathers Will. For *whosoever* (saith he) *shall doe the will of my Father which is in Heaven, the same is my Brother and Sister and Mother*, Mat. 12. 50. For my Brethrens sake therefore; *i. e.* inclusively, For Christs sake too, (a strong melting conjurement) for Christs sake, let us pray for the Peace of *Jerusalem*. But then secondly, *For my Companions sake*. And here's another *Especially*; a Gradation above Brother. Indeed, every one that I acknowledge to be my *Brother*, I doe

not presently thinke it meet and necessary to make him my *Companion*. All men are not made for *Jonathans*; nor doth a neerneſſe of Blood conclude infallibly a neerneſſe of Affection. And though in latter ages there have ſtill beene ſuch, who under the name of *Gaveſtons* have gone about to teare even the moſt *faithfull Servants*, from the ſide of Majeſty; yet certainly, as it is Wiſdome in *Princes* to admit *Favourites* neere them, who may receive the ſhafts of Envy upon Themſelves, which otherwiſe would light upon the ſacred Perſon of the King; (there being no Kingdome upon Earth, without its Male Contents,) So is it but Juſtice in Us to ſubmit, that they may freely chuſe their own *Companions*: Leaſt by forcing the contrary, we bereave them of a Right which Nature grants unto every Creature; and *deprive them of that Liberty, which the meaneſt of their Subjects doe enjoy*. Sometime or other, it muſt prove ill with that State, where the Prince is neceſſitated to ſuch *Companions*, whom he cannot but ſuſpect for *Spies*.

But King *Davids* Companions were not ſuch; But Thoſe, who, when Rebellion had driven him from the
2 Sam. 15. 23 Gates of *Jeruſalem*, forcing him to *Paſſe over the Brook Kidron*, and ſo *toward the way of the wilderneſſe*; ſtuck cloſe to their Lord the King; and followed him both with their Lives and Fortunes, like ſo many moſt Loyall *Ittai's*: each of them *Proteſting*; as good *Ittai* did. *As the Lord liveth,*
Verſ. 21. *and as my Lord the King liveth, ſurely in what place my Lord the King ſhall be, whether in death or life, even there alſo will thy ſervant be.* And therefore for theſe his *Companions* ſake, that Their Loyalties might be remunerated, and their Fortunes, which in maintenance of the Kings Honour have been Plundered, Sequeſtred, Sold; That Theſe may be againe Repaired; no mervaile if *David* ſo heartily wiſh for Peace.

Which

Which *motive* answers tacitely to an Objection, wherewith some of the Malignant ones were armed. For what? say they; doth he pray for the Peace of *Jerusalem?* and would he have *Us* pray for it too? 'tis wisely and politiquely done of him. It seemes then, he would gladly change his *Bramble* into a *Cedar*; and have the needles pickt out of his Crowne; enjoy his Wives agen, his Bathes, his Vineyards, all quietly unto Himselfe, and sit upon an unmolested Throne: He doth not like these *Absoloms*, these uncircumcised *Philistims*; nor would he be troubled with more *Goliahs* or another *Saul*. To this King *David* answers, and testifies to all the World, that he Wishes and Seekes for Peace; not so much for his Own sake, as for his good Subjects: not so much that he might enjoy his Ease, as that God might have from Him and Them, a greater measure of Glory and Worship. Which leads me to my *second Motive*, and the more eminent of the twaine, a *motive* of *Piety* and *Religion*: as being Asterisk'd with a *Yea* of speciality and Gradation above all the Rest.

{Yea, *Because of the House of the Lord our God.*}

The first *Motive* look'd nakedly upon the *State*: This second most properly upon the *Church*: unto both which we are all bound in duty, by so neer a Relation, that, 'tis observ'd, *the selfe same men, which in a temporall respect make the Common-wealth, doe in a Spirituall build up the Church.* The *Church* and *State*; they are the *Moses* and the *Aaron* of *Israel*: Or, what if we should call them the *two Tables?* Cut off the *Church*, and you lay your selves open to that Reproach of being, only, *second Table-men*; Cut off the *State*, and you pretend to give *God* so much, that there is nothing left for your poor *Neighbour*.

But there is *Domus Davidis*, and there is *Domus Dei*, both in this Pſalme: Gods Houſe, and the Kings are joyned together by that wiſe Builder, *Solomon*; Nor ſhall ſe ſtand in need of any Curſe, that goes about to Divorce them. *Pro Aris & Foris*, The *Roman Eagle* was never taught to ſpeake other Language in the Field: And that more *Chriſtian* Impreſſe of our *Chavalry*, *Pro Regno & Religione*, it were a ſhame for us, onely to weare ſo right a *Motto* in our Enſignes. No: they who ingeminate that Cry, the *Temple* of the *Lord*, the *Temple* of the *Lord*: Let them ſilence the latter voice, and Proclaime in its Room, the *Gates* of *Jeruſalem*, *The Temple of the Lord*, *and the Gates of Jeruſalem*, they are not ſo long-winded a Note, nor ſo large a Cry, but we may ſpeake and linke them in a Breath. Then only can we expect it ſhould goe well with a *Kingdome*, when in the Phraſe of Learned *Sempil* a Scottiſh Knight, (and I would to God that all his Countrymen were of his mind) *when the Church Courteth it, and the Court Churcheth it.* And you will ſay, there is as little Treaſon in thoſe words of a moſt Reverend Father in our *Zion*, who, like Saint *Paul* ſtill preacheth it in his Bonds, calling earneſtly upon *You, that when You ſit downe to Conſult*, for the Common-wealths ſake, *You forget not the Church*; And as earneſtly upon *Us, that when we Kneel downe to Pray*, for the Churches ſake, *we forget not the Common-wealth.*

Preface to King *James*, before his Book againſt Sacriledge.

Arch-biſhop of *Cant.* in his Sermon upon Pſal. 122.6.

Indeed a *Common-wealth* without a Church, without Religion, even the very *Atheiſt* will cry this downe for Paradox. Who though with *Davids* Foole, He himſelfe *ſay in his heart there is no God*; yet he is wiſer then to ſpeak it our, among the common People. *Religion*, he takes it for a convenient Property at leaſt, a neceſſary *ſtate-bugg-*

beare

Beare; and if the ignorant multitude ſhould not be Awed (thinks he) with the pretended *notion* of a *Diety*, it were impoſſible to keep up the Port of publique Societies. No Flouriſhing Common-wealth then, by the Confeſſion of *Atheiſts*, without this *Palladium*, without Religion. And as for *Religion*, 'tis the Voice of all Chriſtendome, that it will ſtarve and dye, unleſſe it find a ſupport and nouriſhment from the *Common-wealth*. The *Vine* which onely Creeps upon the Ground, how ſubject is it to be trampled on, and trod under Feet by the *Caledonian Boare*? Whereas when it is erected and propt up with Poles, or climbes upon the Branches of an Elme, it doth not then, only Lodge its Grapes in a ſafe Bed, but likewiſe helpes to Build up an Arbour with its Leaves, for each *Iſraelite* to ſit under.

The Truth is; Preach we may till our hearts ake, Preach at both kinds of Rebellion, aſwell that againſt the *King*, (and 'tis poſſible ſuch an one may be, whereſoever ſome teach to the contrary) as the other againſt God; Command Obedience to Gods Lawes; yes, and to the *Kings*: But then our Power of Commanding is not *Coercive*, in the Kings Name, and Under paine of looſing Life or Liberty: But *Declarative*, in the name of God, and under paine of looſing Body and Soule. Which denouncing yet (ſuch is the blindneſſe and hardneſſe of mans Hart) is undervalued to the Former; and will prove but *Brutum Fulmen*, unleſſe you that are *Maſters in Iſrael* do Countenance the *Miniſters of the Goſpell*: and ſurely, that is not done by making them Poore and Contemptible. Sould you ſhave the Crowne of the *Prophets*, and denude them of their Ornament: *Children* would hardly be kept from calling them *Bald-pates*; and then how ſhall God be kept from ſending his *Beares* among thoſe *Children*. The *Pulpit* muſt be

back'd and ſeconded with the *Tribunall*, or *both* will ſinke. And if the great Courts of Juſtice, as well as the Holy Mount of God; If the grave *Magiſtrate*, as well as the painfull *Miniſter*, doe not now eſpecially plead the Cauſe of Religion, *Actum eſt*, I pray God we doe not ſhortly come to that miſerable comfort, of an *Anglium Fuiſſe*: Time was when We were a *Church*; time was, when this was a *Kingdome*.

I hope there are none here, who long to heare an *O-yes* in the Market place, or to ſee a *Si Quis*, ſet upon the doore of Gods houſe, inviting any man that can but read diſtinctly, to take this Houſe into his Cure. None here (I hope) who wiſh a Reverſe of thoſe dayes in the firſt of Queene *Elizabeth*, when (as we may read in her Injunctions) ſome Miniſters (becauſe they were but meane Readers) *were enjoyned to peruſe over before, once or twice, the Chapters and Homilies, to the intent they might read to the better understanding of the People.* And ſince there are none ſuch here, I hope agen, they will not the leaſt way countenance or ſuffer them any where elſe, who goe about to rob the *Bride* of her *Dowry* (as Saint *Chryſoſtome* cals the maintenance of the Church) and to bring in *Beggery* into Gods Houſe; which will bring in *Ignorance*, which will bring in *Barbariſme*. For, is not that *Religion* like to prove a fine *Child*, which hath *Ignorance* for its *Mother*, and *Poverty* for its *Nurſe*?

Injunct. 53.

And here (*Fathers* and *Brethren*) let me tell you, 'tis happy for your *Zion*, that *David* and his *Worthies* become her Champions. For ſhould Ye of your ſelves; If the *Sons* of *Levi* ſhould become the *onely* Advocates for their poor *Mother*, if they *alone* ſhould Petition for the Houſe of the Lord, that it may not be thrown out at the *Windowes*; But

that

that the just Rights and Ceremonies of *holy Church*, which preserve even the Substance it selfe, (as the Bark the Tree, or as the Hedge the Field,) may be Themselves preserved from Violence and Ruine; should They *alone* Petition, in the behalfe of their Makers, that the Lord of Heaven and Earth, who hath given to all Creatures, not onely whereby to Live, but wherewith to Frolicke; (*Fig-leaves* could serve to cover our Forefathers nakednesse; yet he has given the *Silke-worme*, and the *Golden Fleece* to thee:) That the Liberall Creator may not be pinch'd, put to Board-wages, pittanced and Dieted in his Service and Servants: should They *alone* sue for this; as also that no impious *Belshazzar* may be suffered to seize upon the Vessells, and sacred *Utensils* of the Temple; There would be those, to take them short, with; *Ye take too much upon you, ye sonnes of Levi*; and have invented a Scarre-crow, y^cleaped *Sacrilege*, only to keep up and secure your Owne Pomp and Luxury.

But consider we a while, the Vanity of these men; For does not Saint *Paul* tell us roundly of such a *sinne* as *Sacrilege*; ranking it in the same Equipage with *Idolatry*, if not Above it? *Rom.* 2. 22. Doe not the Primitive Fathers with one voyce declaime highly against the *sinne* of *Sacrilege*? and of latter dayes, has not many a pious *Founders* Curse, in the heavy Judgements of God Preached wofully against the *sin* of *Sacrilege*, proving the truth of *Solomons* saying from the ruine of whole Familie, *viz.* That *it is a Snare to the man who devoureth that which is Holy*? *Pro.* 20. 25. And lastly, does not that learned *Antiquary* (whom therefore I doe the rather quote, because he was no Clergy-man) in his *De non temerandis Ecclesiis* (a Book, 'tis pitty 'tis lock'd up so from the World, and made of no more publique

view, by a Reprinting) does not he prove an large theme, and most pithily, that there is scarce a word in all the 83. *Psalme*, but strikes against those that *takes the Houses of God in Possession*; This being the *Center* of that *Psalme*, and wherein all the Lines of the Prophets invectives doe precisely incurre? Our *English Tacitus* reports it of the reigne of King *Stephen*, that, notwithstanding the miseries of Warre which continued in an eminent Height throughout all his dayes, yet there were more Religious Houses built in his Reigne, then in an hundred yeers before. *which shewes* (saith he) *though the times were Bad, they were not Impious*. And so zealous were they in after ages, in promoting this kind of Piety, that if there had not been a timely Remora found out (as in like case there was once by *Moses* at the building and beautifying of the Tabernacle) by way of *Mort-maine*, 7. *Edw.* 1. 'Tis conceived they would have decke all places with their hallowed Temples, and converted our whole *Iland* into Holy Ground.

Daniel in the life of King *Stephen*.

Now I thinke there is no man, but will grant that this same stop might seem as just in King *Edward*, as in the Emperours *Constantine* & *Valentinian*, who did almost all every same before them; to preserve unto the Crown that Homage and those services of the Subject, which beganne to lessen by Law mens entring themselves into Religious and Ecclesiasticall Courses. And I conceive, it will not be denied, neither, That which is acknowledged by a Loyall Penne in this University, *That the Means as well as the Ministers of the Church, as they are liable to notorious Abuses, should submitte to a Reformation*. Mistake me not, a *Reformation*, I am sure, he meanes, not such an one, (if any such there can be) as Alienates *from* the Church, but which Re-

Preface before the true Subject to Rebell.

Edifies

tifies *in* it. Why, that great Courtier and Politician of his Time, within this Laſt Century, who was ſo earneſt to raiſe himſelfe a Name upon the Ruines of the Church, could not prevaile ſo farre, even with the then prevailing Faction, as to get them to ſubſcribe, That the Lands of the Church, which they unjuſtly laboured to Alienate *unto* Themſelves, might yet be Alienated from the Church. And agen, *ſhould ſubmit to a Reformation*, ; not ſuch an one as would Feed all the Lampes of the Sanctuary, with Oyle alike, making no diſtinction between a Torch and a Taper, between the Golden Candleſticks and the Brazen ones: But ſuch an one, as takes Order that every Lamp may have proportionably its Oyle and Light in due Meaſure and in due Seaſon.

Great talke has been of Abuſes and of Reformation. But, Woe unto ſuch who make Beams of our Moates; who call every ſpot in the Moon a totall Eclipſe, and cry up every Peccadillo in a private Member for no leſſe then Capitall to the whole Body. But then agen, much more Wo unto ſuch, who fancy & find Abuſes where there are none; Who being well read in the *Florentine*, accuſe the Church, for no other end but to get her Meanes. Let them take heed, that the *Jewes* doe not riſe up in Judgement againſt the men of this Generation, for They only Bought & Sold in the Porch of the Temple, they did not Buy and Sell the Porch and the Temple too. It is not for me to plead in *this* Place, that we are the *Kings Subiects*, as well as *Gods Miniſters*; And, that the Lawes of the Land have not the ſpread-Eagles two necks, nor *Janus* his two Faces, to look Eaſt upon the Riſing *Laity*, and to reflect a Weſternly Glance upon the declining *Clergy*: No. The Great *Charter* of

England casts an equall Eye, and gives a just Protection to us Both: Though (with humblenesse, and in all submission be it spoken) *Jacobs* Right hand seemes to be laid (though some, as once *Joseph* did, call to him to remove it thence) upon the younger Child; *viz.* the Church: (the Church is the younger Child: *Ecclesia est in Republica, non Respublica in Ecclesia*; is *Optatus*; And Nature first cals us Men, ere Faith speaks us Christians:) And the first blessing in the very first lines there, is *Deo & Ecclesiæ; we have Granted to God, and by this our present Charter have confirmed for us and our Heires for Evermore, that the Church of England shall be Free, and shall have all her whole Rights and Liberties inviolable.* But proofes of this Nature come not so properly, perhaps, within my spheare.

Gen. 48. 17.

Compare this with the Kings Oath throughout, taken at His Coronation, as it is cited out of the Records of the Exchequer, by His most Sacred Majesty *Himselfe*, in his Answer to the forequoted Declaration.

My chiefe businesse therefore shall be, to Remember you; that, not without the Great hand of Providence, these *Houses of the Prophets* (as in diverse former Parliaments, so now especially) have been miraculously Reserved for *You*. Now, how can you look upon the *Houses* of the Prophets, and Forget the *Sons* of the Prophets? They that sit and Consult in *Naioth*, Ramoth, they cannot but Remember *Bethel*. And when the Master is pleased to come into the *Harvest* field, surely it is not to Rob the *Labourers*, but to Remunerate them.

For otherwise should you goe about (as God forbid I should dare to think so) to barter away the Glory of Gods House, to buy the Peace of your Own; should you seek to destroy with a Breath, a worke of sixteen hundred years; And endevour to appease *Simeon* & *Levi* with the Thraldome of *Jacob*, the Rage of your Brethren with the Ruine of our Fathers, bringing their Gray *Heads* with sor-

row

row unto the Grave; How Cheap ſoever at firſt you might think your Bargaine, I am afraid to tell you, how deere at laſt you would find the *Covenant*. Judgement, you may beginne it at the Houſe of God; but then it will never Reſt, till it have over-run the Common-wealth. A Parity in the *Church*, will uſher in an Anarchy in the *State*; and the Multitude, that in innovating, unſetled, inconſtant Creature, wil find in time, as little uſe of a *Peerage* as of a *Prelacy*. Yea, and what if they ſhould Aske you, as once they did, Where was the *Gentleman*, when *Adam* eat his Bread in the ſweat of his Browes? I feare me this Knot, if they ſhould tye it once, would coſt you all the drawing of your Swords to Cut it. For my part when I conſider how *Moſes* upon his Death-bed, Bleſſed the ſubſtance of the Tribe of *Levi*, in beſtowing a Curſe, even the Curſe of the Sword upon its Enemies: I cannot forbeare, but I muſt make this Application, and think, That therefore God now ſuffers us to endure the longer baniſhment by meanes of the Sword, from our *own Houſes*; becauſe, when time was, we were ſo cold and feeble in defending *His*. Κυριακὸν, a *Kyrke* or Church, the very name of the Houſe ſpeaks the Lord and Maſter of it: Which ſince it is a name too, impoſed (ſaith *Euſebius*) not by man, but by Himſelfe, who is Lord over all; methinks we ſhould never mention, nor never look upon a Church, but with joy and Reverence we ſhould be mindfull of the Owner: *Davids* Companions did but name it unto him, and preſently it puts him upon a *Jubilee*. *I was glad, I was glad, when they ſaid unto me, we will goe into the Houſe of the Lord, verſe* 1. It was joy enough (one would have thought) for him to ſee his Brethren ſo at Unity among themſelves; but to find them thus

Deut. 33. 11.

at amity with their God too; This makes him Tune his Harpe unto a higher Key: *Euge iste*, I was exceeding Glad at this. Indeed, it is the House of the Lord, and our meeting here, which makes the name of Brother and Companion, sweet unto us.

In a word. You see, how that Gods House was an especiall motive unto *David*, both to Pray and Seek for *Jerusalems* Peace: And you see agen, how this House of God has been made by some a black Incentive for a most unnaturall Warre. Are there not those who cruelly goe about to dye the Churches *white* Garments in the Gore *Blood* of her Sonnes? And God put it into your Hearts, that when this Warre is at an end, she may never find cause to wish them in her own *Teares*; unlesse they be in Teares of Joy and Thanksgiving. Are there not such who think it a meane Sacriledge to steale Flesh only from the Altar? And therefore have they not in diverse Places ravished thence the Priest too? O Let it be your Pious and Worthy Care, to restore them Both. Methinks I see here, so many men almost so many *Obed-edoms*: Be ye therefore like that good *Obed-edom*; Do but receive *Gods* House into *Yours*, & God shall one day receive *Your* House into *His*. Do but ye admit Christ and his Disciples to come under *Your Roofe*, and he shall receive you and your Brethren into *His Joy*. Every day shall wait upon you with glad Tydings; And *Domitians* Dreame of a Golden-head, arising behind upon his shoulders, shall be unriddled in the Peacefull and Golden times which will succeed this Bloody and Iron Age. Be we but content to wait Gods leasure, without murmuring and distrust here in his Own House; & we shall behold the *Buckler* of the North, and *Sword* of the West meet, and

concen-

concerner Triumphantly in the East, and there make up a Wreath of Bayes, and a Chaplet of Roſes, for that Head which has ſo long been Crownd with Thornes. Yea, and he will Crowne us All, with his Mercy and Compaſſion here, in his Houſe *Militant*; and with Glory and everlaſting Peace in his Houſe *Triumphant*.

AMEN.

FINIS.

13

THE Soveraignes Power, AND THE Subiects Duty:

DELIVERED

In a SERMON, at CHRIST-CHURCH in *Oxford*, March 3. 1643.

By J. ARMAGH.

ROM. 13. 2.

Whosoever resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God.

OXFORD,
Printed for W. W. 1643.

Roman. 13. verſ. 1.

Let euery ſoule bee ſubiect to the higher powers: for there is no power but of God.

IN vaine doe Chriſtian Princes beare the Sword, if their ſubiects conſcience may queſtion their power. They which beginne it in the cauſe of Religion, may as well goe on, and doubt of all. And therefore as Princes are iuſtly zealous in reſtraining the outward man, the Prieſts ſhould bee as forward in informing the conſcience. You know the occaſion of ſuch a meditation, and this hath put mee againe ſo

ſoone vpon you and a new Text, ſtanding engaged for many, which I muſt deſire you to hearken to, as Gods meſſage, pleading for the right of Kings by his Apoſtle, *Rom* 13. *v* 1. *Let euery ſoule be ſubiect to the higher powers, &c.*

Wherein are th ſe two parts: 1. a Propoſition deliuered by way of command, expreſſing a duty enioyned, *Let euery ſoule be ſubiect &c.*

Wherein are three things,
1. *Quis*, Who it is that is to performe it, *Euery ſoule.*
2. *Quid*, What it is, *Be ſubiect.*
3. *Cui*, To whom, *The higher powers.*

2. a Reaſon for confirmation of it, as if this cauſe were grounded, not onely on bare authority, but inforced by infallible reaſon, *For there is no power but of God.*

I ſhall begin with the perſons; and firſt with thoſe to whom this duty is due; *the higher powers*, ἐξουσίαις ὑπερεχούσαις.

We haue iuſt cauſe to examine this ſtile, and confine it ſtrictly to its ſubiect; leſt vſurpers taking aduantage of the looſe-

neſſe

neſſe ſecretly vndermine the bulwarke, which we hope for, and may heere build vp. For ſome are ready to thruſt in, and ſhrowd vnder this Title, Biſhops and all Spirituall Gouernours: others, who mainely oppoſe that, labour to make all temporall Gouernours equall ſharers; both which are repugnant to the Apoſtles meaning, and both equally dangerous. Let ſpirituall power be heere ſuppoſed, and (if they be not ſubiect) yet ſhall temporall Princes haue no command ouer the Clergie. Let all temporall partake in it, and euery inferiour Magiſtrate ſhall conteſt with his King. For, for their ſafegard (according to them) as well as the Princes, is this precept of the Apoſtle. *Let euery ſoule be ſubiect to the higher powers.* And heere is no ſubiection, but command allotted them. For *powers*, ſay they, extends its ſelfe to the ſpirituall power, and *higher*, in the others ſenſe, lookes onely on the people; and therefore agreeable to inferiour Magiſtrates, who in reſpect of the people are ὑπερέχοντες, *ſuperexcellentes*, exceeding

all others in ciuill power. For that, which wee render *Higher*, they tranſlate, *ſuperexcellentes*, hoping thereby to eſcape the obſcurity and danger of the vulgar tranſlation, which anſwers our Engliſh. That is *Bezaes* cenſure on the vulgar Latine, (which ſaith, *Poteſtatibus ſublimioribus ſubdita ſit*) and redounds to our Engliſh; wherein he hath his followers. The difference at firſt ſeemes onely verball, but when we heare them from hence ſuſpect a dangerous ſence; we are to ſtand vpon our guard, and preſume of a reall diſſenſion. Giue them leaue to change the word [*ſublimioribus*] into *ſuperexcellentibus*, and they thinke they haue ſufficient warrant, in ſtead of abſolute Lords and Princes, to put in Bailiffes and Conſtables. It muſt bee meant of all Magiſtrates, that haue power ouer other men, or elſe it is *Periculoſa interpretatio*. And wherin ſtands the danger? Becauſe they ſhall bee denied to deriue their power from God? That would not follow; becauſe others are here ſayd to bee of God, they being not named.

named. Put the caſe they were denyed it, and had their power allotted them onely from Kings, and not immediatly from God, as Kings deriue theirs. Indeede this is that, which is much feared by them, who ſecretly labour to curbe Kings; as ſhall appeare anon. But is this leſſe then the Apoſtle giues them? S. *Peter* makes a different fountaine of power. *Submit your ſelues to euery ordinance of man for the Lords ſake: whether it be to the king as Supreame; or vnto Gouernours, as vnto them, that are ſent by him*: 1. Pet. 2. 13, 14. Gouernours, who haue a King, may not thinke they ſtand at the well-head with him; but haue their power deriued from him. By him are they ſent, and from him haue they their authoritie, and yet it is from God too, being a branch of the Kings power, which is immediatly from God. It is not then a dangerous opinion, but the ſafeſt trueth which they would auoide.

But we muſt not frame fancies, and then fit the Scripture to them by tranſlation. Indeed ſhould I lay this to their charge, I

ſhould

ſhould wrong them: for whileſt they were quarrelling with the word, that was the occaſion of daunger, rather then they would erre from the originall, they placed in another alike dangerous. For what aduantage haue they by *Superexcellentibus?* it is not in the comparatiue degree, as was the other. But hath it not a comparatiue ſenſe? Yes as great, or greater: Such as our Engliſh, *more excellent, or more eminent* doth not reach; which *Pareus* at length confeſſeth, ſaying, *Præcipuè tamen* ὑπερέχουσι, the Apoſtle eſpecially aimes at the Supreame power; ſo the true meaning of the word importes: for it is that, which amongſt many is ſtill higher then them all, and therfore *Supreame*, which our latter Engliſh Tranſlation obſerues in the place before cited out of Saint *Peter*, *Submit your ſelues to the King*, ὡς ὑπερέχοντι, *as Supreame.* They are then ὑπερέχουσαι, *Supreame* powers only, to whom this obedience is due; and to all ſuch, whether in *Monarchie, Ariſtocratie, Democratie*, or other forme of gouernement.

1. Pet. 2. 13.

This we haue further warrant for from our

our Apoſtles diſcourſe: for that wee may haue yet another Plea againſt *inferiour Magiſtrates*; and ſhew alſo at laſt againſt the Papiſts claime, that no *Spirituall Power* hath place here, theſe higher powers are ſuch, as to whom *the ſword of iuſtice is immediatly committed*, at the fourth verſe. He that is one of theſe powers, *beareth not the ſword in vaine*: for *hee is the Miniſter of God, a reuenger to execute wrath vpon him that doth euill*, and vnto whom Tribute belongeth at the ſixth verſe: *for this cauſe alſo you pay Tribute.* Both which are the infallible markes of Supreame ciuill power, being parts of the Rights of Maieſtie. Yee haue then the perſons, to whom ſubiection is due. Let vs now ſee, *Quis*, who it is that is to performe it, whom wee find expreſſed by *Omnis anima*, Euery ſoule. Rom. 13. 4.

PART. II.

Quis? Euery ſoule.

THat here the ſoule is vſed *Synechdochicè*, the part for the whole man (as oftentimes in Scripture) I preſume needs no confirmation:

firmation: But yet there may be ſome ſpeciall cauſe, why he nameth the ſoule, not the body: which *Gorran* will haue, *Quia debet eſſe voluntaria ſubiectio*, as if he were not properly ſubiect, whoſe body was fitted to the Superiours command, and the will, which is from the ſoule, ioynes not with it. And *Caietane, vt non ſolum corpus*, to the end that Subiects ſhould by the way vnderſtand, that not only their bodie and goods, but *ipſa anima*, their very ſoule alſo ſhould be ſubiect to their Princes command; and as *Omnis homo*, euery man; ſo *Totum hominis*, or *Totus homo*, ſhould concurre to make a perfect obedience; for ſo our Apoſtle afterward more plainely: Wherefore, *ye muſt be ſubiect not onely for wrath, but alſo for conſcience ſake.* Verſe 5.

The maine thing wee are to enquire for here, is to know who theſe are, to whom this command extends it ſelfe, and whether as in the note, ſo in the Apoſtles meaning, there is an abſolute vniuerſalitie; ſo that no kinde of men, and no man is exempted, and it is worth our enquiry, ſince there

there are not wanting who would wrest themselues out of this number.

The Anabaptists at first would haue pleaded exemption from Princes, but finding by their wofull experience, that they could neuer prooue it whilest *Powers* remained, haue changed their Proposition, and in stead of putting themselues out of *Omnis anima*, labour to ruine *Potestates*, not deeming them fit for Christians. These haue confessed their errour, and saue vs a labour.

But the Clergie of *Rome*, aiming at the same priuiledge, & managing their purposes more craftily; haue wrested it frō some Princes; which they haue now so successefully improued, that against Kings, by violent practise of it, and against all disputers, by argument they challenge it as their proper inheritance; & maintain that the Pope cannot, if he would, submit himselfe to any ciuill *Power*: But were the sword as able to pleade Kings causes in the field, as Diuines pens in the Schooles, their Crownes would not so often totter on their heads,

Suarez def. Cath. fid. lib. 4. cap. 7.

nor their liues be exposed to such rebellious out-lawes.

That our Apostle intended this Precept to the Clergie as well as to the Laitie, if the words themselues cannot perswade, heare the Ancients exposition of them. S. *Chrysostome* saith, *Let euery soule bee subiect, yea,* καὶ ἀποστόλου, καὶ εὐαγγελιστοῦ, κἂν προφήτου ἦς, κἂν. *though he be an Apostle, yea, though hee be an Euangelist, or a Prophet, or whosoeuer.* Theodoret, *Whether hee be Priest, Bishop, or Monke*; So *Theoph.* So *Oecumenius.* And *Bernard ad Archiepiscopum Senonensem*, vrging this verse of S. *Paul* expounds it, *Si omnis, & vestra,* If euery soule be subiect, then yours. *Quis vos excepit ab vniuersitate?* Who hath exempted you from this vniuersalitie? yea, and leaues a brande on all his successours, that shall attempt to perswade any Clerke to such a freedome, *Si quis tentat excipere, conatur decipere.*

Bern. Epist. 42.

Were these silent, the circumstances attending this Epistle would discouer it. The occasion, it seemes, of this strict command was the heathens iealousie of Chri-

stian

ſtian ſubiection, and the infection, which the Apoſtle feared, might haue ſeiſed on theſe new Chriſtians, from that common opinion of the Iewes, who were about this time altogether impatient of any gouernement, but what they then expected from their Meſſias. For ſuppreſſing of the like conceit, and clearing of the Chriſtians, he addes this precept to the Epiſtle directed to all the Saints at *Rome*, and therefore the Clergie; yea, Saint *Peter* too, (if hee were then in *Rome*,) elſe had he not ſatisfied, but encreaſed the Heathens ſupicion.

Againe, this may be confirmed by the doctrine and practiſe of thoſe times. Our Sauiour takes order, *that Tribute be paid for himſelfe*; and *Peter* giues direction to the Prieſts ſpies to giue vnto *Cæſar* the things that were *Cæſars*. Saint *Paul* appeales to *Cæſar* for iudgement. And if wee looke backeward into the olde Teſtament, wee may finde the ſame ſubiection in Prieſts and Leuites, and the like power in temporall Superiours. *Iudas Maccabæus* appointeth the Prieſt to *Sanctifie the Temple*, after

Mat. 17. 27

Luk. 20. 25

1. Mac. 4. 42.

Antiochus his profaning of it. The like did *Iosiah*. *Ioash* reprehendeth *Iehoiada* the high Priest for neglecting it. *Salomon* deposeth *Abiathar* the high Priest for offending against him. *Dauid* giues order to the Priests and Leuites for the seruice of God. *Aaron* is subiect to *Moses*. But we may spare our labour for these arguments, since some of them are content to acknowledge the force of them, and graunt what wee haue prooued. For so *Estius* to the practise of the Apostles, *Non est consequens*, it followes not, if *Peter* and *Paul* were then subiect to temporall powers, that therefore Bishops and Priests should be now. Why so? *Placuit Principibus Christianis*: Because Exemption hath since beene graunted by Christian Princes. What? By the *Supreme Power* of euery dominion? If not, then are they not exempt from all. If so, it is but onely on fauour, and not of due; so that they are still subiect, when any Prince shall claime it: Nay, they are necessarily subiect in the maine point of subiection, (if not in other circumstances) because an absolute free-

2. Chron. 34. Ib. Ca. 24. 6.

1. King. 2 26.

1. Chro. 15 11.

Est in rom. 1. 1.

freedome is a detraction from ſupremacy, which no perſon can diſpoſe.

Wherefore we may conclude, that people, and Prieſt, and euery perſon amongſt them is included *in omnis anima*, and therfore muſt attend the charge that is giuen, *Subdita ſit*, Let it beſubiect.

PART III.

The Duty: Let it be Subiect.

Οὐχ ἁπλῶς εἶπε, ἀλλὰ τί; as S. *Chryſoſtome*. He ſaith not ſimply, let it *honour* the *powers*, or be *obedient*, but let it bee *ſubiect*; which includes all parts of duty, which a ſubiect owes vnto his King, for the accompliſhing of which, no outward act of reuerence, or ſeruice muſt bee wanting: and though this may ſatisfie the Kings command, yet doeth not this diſcharge thee of thy duty, which can neuer bee true, till the heart anſwer the geſture of the body. Diuine precepts ſeaze not on the body onely, but the ſoule. If thou

wilt

wilt not then withdrawe thy ſelfe from this ſubiection, thou muſt adde theſe fowre conditions to thy externall obedience. There muſt be in thee 1. *Promptitudo voluntatis interior*, a free, voluntary, and cheerefull aſſent of minde. 2. *Sincerus amor*, perfect loue and affection towardes his perſon. 3. *Filialis timor*, an awfull reſpect of his power ouer thee, and a filiall feare of offending him. 4. *Fidelitas*, a faithfull heart towards him, whereby thou art conſtant in all bonds of duty to him, and iealous of all iniuries by others intended againſt him. This is the qualification of the ſubiection heere mentioned, and when thus qualified, it is not arbitrary, left to thee, to performe when, and where thou pleaſeſt. For Saint *Paul* propoſeth it not by way of aduice, or direction; but *imperatiue*, by way of command; hauing, beſides his apoſtolicall authority, the ſame precept, giuen by other his fellow-Apoſtles; by Chriſt himſelfe, and the foundation of all commands, the *Law*, which was giuen by God himſelfe; firſt in generall termes,

1. 2. 3. 4.

1. Pet. 2. 13

Matt. 22. 31

Honour

Honour thy father and thy mother; and afterward enlarged, *That man that will doe presumptuously, nor hearken vnto the Priest, or vnto the Iudge, that man shall die.* But doth this command vrge at all times, and on all occasions? What if the Prince be wicked, idolatrous? The vices of the man abridge not his power, and therefore not the Apostles command. If this might haue beene a sufficient plea against obedience, S. *Paul* might haue spared this precept, since *Nero* was the *power*, to whom these Romans were subiect. Or (to omit all other cases that may be made) what if his command be contrary to religion? yea an army bee rayſed for the extirpation of true religion? This is the true touchstone of subiection; and heere (if euer) may a subiect renounce all obedience to his King. For now is there *power* against *power*, man against God, and the subiect of both left to follow either man, or God. This is a wonderfull strait, from which whilest some labour to escape by the shipwracke of their faith, they turne traitors

Exod. 20.

Deut. 17. 12

to God : others by taking the ſword in hand, though but to defend, become rebels to their King: That is their ſtile.

Whether God be to be obeied rather then man, ſhould need no proofe amongſt any that conteſſe a God: and therefore when a Chriſtian heares the commaund of a Prince preſſing him to what God hath expreſly forbidden, Nature prompts him his anſwer, *I muſt obey God*; and this hath the Apoſtles practiſe ratified, who counted this their ſafe warrant for not yeelding to the High Prieſts iniunctions, *Obedire oportet Deo magis quam hominibus*, we ought to obey God rather then man, rather indeed in reſpect of the danger that attends in the diſobeying of either; for, *Hi carcerem* (as S. *Auguſtine*) *Ille gehennam minatur*, theſe threaten impriſonment onely, God hell fire, They a temporall, He an eternall death. There is no ſhifting then of Gods commaund, without the penaltie of eternall death, and therefore he muſt be obeyed euen againſt the King. That's my reſolution in the firſt caſe.

Auguſt. de verbis Domini, ſer. 6.

But

But what if the King preſſe by violence to draw thee from that obedience, wilt thou maintaine it by violence?

Wee haue indeed the Ieſuites inſtructions for it, yea, and the Popes encouragement to it: I ſpare the quotations becauſe there comes not a Booke of theirs, wherin (if occaſion be giuen) they forbeare to expreſſe it, or compendiouſly to refer you to ſome: ſee *Hoſpin.* and *Anticotton.*

Comoz letter to Parry.

Hoſpin. Hiſt. Ieſuit. l. 4. c. 1. Anticotton.

A doctrine of which, when the Society is challenged for, they are aſhamed, and labour to cleere themſelues againſt their written teſtimonies, as appeares in *Anticotton.*

And yet (I can not, but with griefe ſpeak it) we finde euen in ſome Reformed Bookes the Ieſuites penne. Their names deſerue to bee branded that broach ſuch poſitions: weigh thoſe of *Pareus.*

Par. in Rom. 13. dub. 4.

Biſhops and Paſtors may and ought to reſiſt their vniuſt Magiſtrates, not with the ſword but the word of God, reprooue their notorious impiety, and iniuſtice, and reducing them to their office,

1. Concl.

Pareus *his falſe doctrines and wicked poſitions concerning Higher powers.*

according to the word of God, and the Law, and deliuering them, if ſtubborne, to Satan.

Replic. That Prieſts ſhould tell Princes their faults, we grant; but when they can vſe diſcretion, fitting ſo grand a buſineſſe; when they deſire to inſinuate into them by their owne teares, not enforce vpon them Gods command. Spirituall force is the mother of all other, but not farther to bee inſiſted vpon by mee at this time, becauſe our occaſion was from what followeth.

2. Concl. *Subditi non priuati, ſed in Magiſtratu inferiori conſtituti &c.* Subiects, ſuch as are inferiour Magiſtrates, may by armes defend themſelues lawfully, the Commonweale, and true Religion againſt the ſuperiour Magiſtrates.

Replic. Theſe ſuperior Magiſtrates are ſuch, we may preſume, in whom the ſupreme power reſides; and then you may ſee how directly it thwarts the Apoſtles rule. For thoſe other Magiſtrates are ſubiects.

3. Concl. It is not lawfull for ſubiects, which are meerely priuate men, to take armes without

out

but a lawfull calling, neither to invade a tyrant before danger, nor to defend themselues against them in danger, nor to reuenge themselues after danger, if they may be defended by the ordinary power.

If then they faile of this condition, there is a time when they may right themselues: we shall not need to collect it, he addes it in the following conclusion. *Replic.*

If a tyrant presse on his subiects, as if he were *Iatro* and *Rapinator*, and they can not escape by flight, or any other ordinary meanes, it is lawfull for to defend themselues and theirs, as against a priuate extortioner. 4. *Concl.*

How far short these conclusions come of the Iesuites positions, I referre to your trial by comparing them. And yet is not he the only man that maintaineth thē? *Buchanan* and the fayned *Iunius Brutus* are infamous for this doctrin. I could name others But this may suffice, that there is scarce any of them, who are eager for the Presbyterie, and are fit instructours in this point for subiects of a free Monarch; and therefore

fore no maruell if our eares bee tainted with ſuch doctrine.

That which I conceiue in this caſe for truth is, that no ſubiects may vpon any occaſion take armes or vſe any violence againſt the ſupreame power, no not in defence of religion.

Rom. 13. 2 *Whoſoeuer reſiſteth the power, reſiſteth the ordinance of God*, ſayth S. *Paul*, in the 2. verſe. Which place may well ſerue to confirme Princes *power* ouer their ſubiects in this caſe; for this rule was giuen to them, who ſuffered vnder a Tyrant, and that for religion. It is a vaine and idle exception, which *Pareus* takes at this. Some argu-ments drawn from the power of Maiesty, ſaying, ſuch places are bent againſt *priuate* men, who vſurpe ſuch power ouer ſuperiours; for euery Common-wealth conſiſts but of two ſorts in the generall, Prince and People, ſuperiours and ſubiects: thoſe who partake not of the Supremacy (as in an Oligarchie) are priuate men: if (where the power is deuided) one take the ſword againſt the other, this is as hee is a part of the ſupreame power.

Other

Other arguments that may bee drawne *à parte potestatum*, I forbeare, because they haue all their strength from the Apostles reason, and till that be weighed, we cannot auoide their shifts.

If we reflect vpon subiects, we shall find that their hands are tied by precepts, which lay hold on them, as they take on thē to be zealous Christians. Christs, *Pray for them that persecute you*: and the Apostles, *Recompence to no man euill for euill*; are not such priuate vertues, but that they pertaine to euery man; yea, it is the onley badge of their true subiectiō vnto Christ, if for his Names sake they practise them. And therfore *Tertullian* in stead of abetting such zealous reuenge, fights with a prohibition, *Absit vt igne humano vindicetur secta diuina; at doleat pati, in quo probatur*: and in the combate gaines the victory, by the persecutors cruelty, & proclaimeth it, *Crudelitas vestra, est gloria nostra.*

Mat. 5. 44. Rom. 12. 17.

Tertul. Apol. c. 37. Ad Scap.

But since precepts are made so liable to distinctions; and, when capable of seuerall expositions, each may be maintained; let vs read the exposition of them in the practise

practise of them, that gaue and receiued them. Did our Sauiour or his Apostles euer withstand the rage of the persecuting Iewes? Doe wee reade of any one vproare, or resistance made by the Primitiue Christians in those barbarous outrages, practised on them by Heathen, Idolatrous Tyrants? No, but in stead of alarums for defence, they reioyced, when apprehended, and triumph'd in their torments; hauing yet their hearts alwayes as ready to wish and pray for the happie state of their Emperours, as their bodies readie to suffer their violence. I might prooue it from age to age, for many hundreds of yeeres after Christ: but that I can but touch, not discusse this question, and leaue it to your owne reading, and further scanning. The force of this argument is confessed by our opposites, who thinke to relieue themselues by imputing their not resisting to their weakenes, not vnwillingnes to resist. Rash vncharitable Iudges of such holy Saints. Did they proclaime one thing to the

the world, and belie the thoughts of their hearts? Heare their vnanimous consent in *Tertullian*; *Apud nostram disciplinam occidi magis licet, quam occidere*; It is our profession, rather to die then kill. Such precepts, and the rules of obedience kept out al thoughts of rebellion against their Prince; and hence in their name *Tertullian* contends with his heathen Persecutors for a greater share in *Cæsar*, in whose name they were executed; *Noster est magis* Cæsar; He is rather ours, then your Emperour, being appointed by our God. Apol. c. 33.

And where as they pretend want of force in Christians, they obserue not, that at *Iulians* death, his whole armie cryed out to *Iouianus*, We are all Christians. Soc. hist. lib. 3. 9.

In *Diocleſians* time, *Omnes ferè mortales*, The whole world almost, leauing their Idolatrous Sacrifices, ioyned themselues with the Christian Congregations.

Tertullian pleads against the same obiection; would wee deale with you as enemies, *Deesset nobis vis numerorum, & copiarum?* could we want forces? We Christians haue filled all places of your Empire, your Cities, Apol. 37.

ties, Ilands, Caſtles, all but your Temples. Yea goe higher yet, and behold the Church in her cradle, arm'd with force able to oppoſe the world, the Apoſtles power of miracles, Chriſts legions of Angels, ready to be employed at his command. Or had they failed of theſe meanes, they thought of as eaſie a tricke as the Ieſuites, to puniſh their enemies, when *Tertullian* profeſſeth, that one night, by the helpe of a few torches, might haue afforded them a large reuenge. Behold now the power of theſe Primitiue Chriſtians, and yet weltring in their own blood for their Chriſtianitie: With them, to right themſelues vpon their perſecutors, or to oppoſe them, is rebellion, and malice. Then was it the ſtrongeſt parts Plea; *Læſos vltio diuina defendit* (as Cyprian) Diuine refuge protects vs. But now, Our owne arme ſhall ſtrengthen vs. It is a glorious plea with fleſh and blood, to fight the Lords battell, and to prouide that the true Religion be not rooted out: and (for ought I find) their beſt argument, for all the reſt hang on the diſpoſing of Su-

Tract. con. Demet. pa. 224.

preme

preme Power, (which by the Apoſtles reaſon are all vndermined) or on the example of ſome, whoſe commiſſion is confeſſed to be extraordinary, and from God. But let them heare whether we may not take vp Saint *Hilaries* complaint; *Miſereri licet noſtræ ætatis laborem, & præſentium temporum ſtultas opiniones, quibus patrocinari Deo humana creduntur, & ad tuendam Chriſti Eccleſiam ambitione ſæculari laboratur*; Wee may iuſtly pitie the vaine labour and fooliſh conceits of theſe times, wherein mans endeauours are accounted Gods aid, and Chriſts Church thought to be maintained by the worlds policie, ambition or greatneſſe. Hil. con. Auxent.

For the Apoſtles receiue a ſharpe checke that would haue fire come downe from heauen, to conſume the rude Samaritans, and the ſword that was drawne in Chriſts defence is commanded to bee put vp into his place, not without the heauie ſentence: *All that take the ſword, ſhall periſh by the ſword.* Whence *Tertullian*; *Gladium nec Dominicæde; ſenſioni neceſſarium reddidit.* The ſword was not lawfull in a priuate mans hands; no, Luke 9. 54. 55. Mat. 26. 52. Tertul. de Cor. Mil.

not for Christs sake. The weapons which
2.Cor.10.4 the true Church vseth in her battels, are spirituall: and the walles of Iericho are not to be battered, but with the Priests trumpets.

Protestants should remember how they withstand the Papists notes of the Church when they require it to be visible, of large extent, and glorious in the eie of the world: And Papists should acknowledge what *Bellarmine* professeth, *Durauit hucusque &c:* The Church hath lasted to this day in despite of her enemies, Iewes, Pagans, Heretickes; and not so onely but still hath gayned by persecution. That is the greatest aduantage, that true Christianity hath when it is persecuted; and then doth shee conquere, when her souldiers are slaine. Was the Protestants cause weakened, either in France, by their many outragious massacres; or in England, by their frequent fiers; or in the Low Countries, by their great afflictions? If euer they prooue loosers, it is when they vniustly fight for preseruing it. Should the Papist Princes all

Bellarm. de Ecc. lib. 4. c. 5.

muster

muſter their forces, and wage the holy warre, whoſe Trumpet hath already ſounded the alarum, they might perchance for a time eclipſe the light of trueth, put it out they neuer can. They may abate the viſible number, but will make more true Profeſſours. *Tertullians*, *Sanguis Martyrum eſt ſemen Eccleſiæ*, is a maxime, The bloud of true Martyrs is the Churches ſeeds-plot, if it be caſt into the fire, or ſpilt by an vnreſiſted ſword. *Scioppius claſſ. ſacr.*

I could dwell in the contemplation of this ſtrange husbandry; but that I may be ſuſpected for digreſſing, and am yet to ſhew the *medium* betweene *diſobeying* God, and *reſiſting* the *King*.

It is confeſſed there muſt bee no diſobeying of God: That wee may not reſiſt the King is prooued (as the occaſion giues leaue) what then remaines? *Preces & lachrymæ*, ſollicite, beſeech, earneſtly pray for the reuerſing of the Decree, *Hæc ſunt munimenta ſpiritualia, & tela diuina, quæ protegunt*, This is the only ſhelter and fortreſſe, whither a Chriſtian may betake himſelfe

Hester 3.16 in this tempest. Heere was *Hesters* and the Iewes refuge, when the Decree was gone out from *Ahasuerosh* for the destroying of the Iewes. Act. 4. 2. Hither fled the Apostles, when they were prohibited to preach Christ: *Alexander* of Constantinople, when command was giuen for the reestablishing of *Arius*; Sozim. l. 2. c. 28 and *Ambrose*, when hee was eagerly prosecuted by *Iustina* in the cause of Arianisme. Ruffin. l. 2. c. 36. And these are *tela* too, and *diuina*, weapons that fight from aboue against the fury of persecutours; not, as if by thee directed to reuenge (that is not warrantable) but approoued with God by the testimonies of his vengeance. By these was *Hamans* gallowes (appointed for *Mordecai*) fitted for himselfe; by these on the day, when *Arius* should haue beene restored, did he sodainely perish; by these was *Iustina* put to flight and executed. If these preuaile not, know that now is the time wherein God will make triall of thy faith to him, and loyalty to thy king. Both which must appeare in thy readinesse to vndergoe the intended affliction.

There is no *defenſiue reſiſtance* allowed, vnleſſe thy defence be ſuch, (as *Liuie* only allots to ſubiects) *Scutum, non gladius*, the buckler of patience, not the ſword, which is as ready to giue, as ward the blow. Hee that in this defence wounds his perſecutor, is a rebellious *murtherer*, not a lawfull *executioner*. Remember that he is ſtill thy Prince, and ſince thy conſcience may not yeeld to his command, ſhew thy ſelfe his ſubiect in yeelding to his puniſhment. For now thou mayest either die by liuing, or liue by dying: Thou haſt Chriſts warrant for it; *Hee that* (in ſuch a caſe) *findeth his life ſhall looſe it, and hee that looſeth his life ſhall finde it*; looſe a temporall, finde an eternall, where he ſhall for euer raigne in the glory of triumphant Martyrs. Lib. 3. Mat. 10. 39

FINIS.

14

AN ORDINANCE OF The Lords and Commons assembled in PARLIAMENT;

For the upholding the Government and Fellowship of Merchants of England Trading in the *LEVANT* Seas,

For the maintenance of Clothing, and Woollen Manufactures, the venting of LEAD, TIN, and sundry other Commodities of this Kingdom.

ORdered by the Commons in Parliament, That this Ordinance be forthwith printed and published:

H: Elsynge, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

MARCH 11. 1643.

London, Printed for *Edward Husbands*, and are to be sold at his shop in the Middle-Temple. 1643.

9. *Martii*, 1643.

FOr the better encouragement and ſupportation of the Fellowſhip of Merchants of *England* trading in the *LEVANT* Seas; vvhich, beſides the building and maintaining of divers great Ships, both for Defence and Burthen, the venting of Kerſies, Sayes, Perpetuanies, and ſeverall other commodities, Hath been found very ſerviceable and profitable to this State, by advancing Navigation, and tranſporting into Forraigne parts for ſeverall yeers together, above Twenty thouſand Broad-clothes *per Annum*, beſides other commodities dyed and dreſſed

in their full Manufacture: And for the better Government and Regulating of Trade, especially that of Clothing, whereby the poor people are set on work, and the whole Kingdom receives benefit, The *Lords* and *Commons* in Parliament do Ordain, that the said Fellowship of Merchants of *England* trading into the *LEVANT* Seas, shall continue and be a Corporation, That they shall have the free choice and removall of all Ministers and Officers, which are to be by them maintained either at home or abroad, whether they be dignified, or called by the title or name of *Ambassadours*, *Governours*, *Deputies*, *Consulls*, or otherwise; And shall have power to Leavie Monies on the Members of their Corporation, and Strangers, upon all Goods that shall

ſhall be ſhipped in Engliſh Bottomes, as alſo upon all the Goods of Engliſh ſhipped in Strangers Bottomes, which go into or come from the *LEVANT* Seas, for and towards the neceſſary charge and maintenance, and ſupply of their Miniſters, Officers, Government. And that the ſaid Fellowſhip ſhall have further power to Leavie ſuch ſum and ſums of Money on the Members of their corporation, and their Goods, as ſhall be advanced for the uſe and benefit of the State, by the Approbation of both Houſes of Parliament.: And that no perſon ſhall bring from, or ſend Goods or ſhips into thoſe parts Limited by their Incorporation, but ſuch as are Free Brothers, or otherwiſe Licenſed by the aforeſaid corporation, or forfeiture of the whole, or other leſſer Penal-

tie

tie to be impoſed by the ſaid corporation, on their ſaid Goods or ſhips ſo ſent or traded in unduly.

Provided that the ſaid Fellowſhip ſhall not exclude any perſon from his Freedom and Admiſsion into the ſaid Fellowſhip, who ſhall deſire it by way of Redemption, if ſuch perſon be a meer Merchant, and otherwiſe capable thereof, and ſhall pay Fifty pounds for the ſame, if he be above the age of twenty ſevẽ yeers, or twentyfive pounds if he be under that age, or ſo much leſſe, as their Fellowſhip ſhall think fitting. And that the ſaid Fellowſhip ſhall have power to impoſe a Fine upon any perſon or perſons wilfully contemning, or diſobeying the Order or Orders in matter of Government, ſo as the Fine do not exceed the ſumme of Twenty pounds,

pounds, for any one offence; And in default of payment of ſuch Fine, the ſaid Fellowſhip ſhal have power to diſtrain the Goods of ſuch perſon or perſons ſo fined; And if no ſufficient diſtreſſe can be found, then the ſaid Fellowſhip ſhall have power to impriſon the ſaid perſon or perſons for their ſaid contempt, untill ſuch perſon or perſons ſhal pay ſuch Fine or Fines, or otherwiſe conform themſelves to the Act and Government of the ſaid Fellowſhip; And the ſaid Fellowſhip ſhall have power to give ſuch an Oath or Oaths, to the Officers and Members of their Corporation, as ſhall be approved of by both Houſes of Parliament: Provided that all Rights or Charters granted under the Broad Seal of England or otherwiſe, ſhall be hereby ſaved.

And the ſaid Lords and Commons do further Ordain, That with all convenient expedition, a Bill ſhall be prepared, in order to an Act of Parliament to be paſſed in this preſent Parliament, for the further ſettling, and full confirmation of the Priviledges of the ſaid Fellowſhip herein before mentioned, with ſuch

ſuch other clauſes and Proviſions, as ſhall be found expedient by both Houſes of Parliament; This Ordinance to remain in full force, untill a Bill or Act ſhal be prepared and paſſed according to the intent and true meaning of this Ordinance.

And it is Ordered, that this Ordinance be forthwith Printed and publiſhed, that all Perſons concerned may take notice thereof as appertaineth.

H: Elſynge, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

MUSEUM BRITANNICUM

FINIS.